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A

DECLARATION
of the Practises & Treasons
attempted and committed by *Robert*
late Earle of *Essex* and his Complices,
against her Maiestie and her Kingdoms,
and of the proceedings as well at the
Arraignments & Conuictions of the
said late Earle, and his adhe-
rents, as after:

Together with the very Confessions
and other parts of the Euidences them-
selues, word for word taken out of
the Originals.

(* *)



Imprinted at London by *Robert*
Barker, Printer to the Queenes
most excellent Maiestie.

(* *)

ANNO 1601.





A
DECLARATION
touching the Treasons

of the late Earle of Essex,
William and his Complices.

Felding



*Though publike iustice
passed vpon capital of-
fenders, according to
the lawes, & in course
of an honourable and
ordinarie triall (where the case would
haue borne and required the seueritie
of Marshall law to haue bene speedilie
vsed) do in it selfe carie a sufficient sa-
tisfaction towards all men, specially in
a mercifull gouernement, such as her*

A 3 Maieslies

*A Declaration of the Treasons of the
Majesties is approoved to bee: yet
because there doe passe abroad in the
hands of many men diuers false and
corrupt Collections and Relations of
the proceedings at the arreignment of
the late Earles of Essex and South-
ampton: and againe, because it is re-
quisite that the world doe vnderstand
aswell the præcedent practises and in-
ducements to the Treasons, as the open
& actuall Treasons theſelues (though
in a case of life it was not thought con-
uenient to insiſt at the triall vpon mat-
ter of inference or presumption, but
chiefly vpon matter of plaine and di-
rect proofes) therefore it hath beene
thought fit to publish to the world a
brieſe Declaration of the practises and
treasons attempted and committed by
Robert late Earle of Essex and his
complices*

late Earle of Essex, and his Complices.

complices against her Maieslie and her Kingdomes, and of the proceedings at the conuictions of the said late Earle and his adherents vpon the same treasons: and not so onely, but therewithall, for the better warranting and verifying of the narration, to set downe in the end, the very Confessions and testimonies themselves, word for word taken out of the Originals, whereby it will be most manifest, that nothing is obscured or disguised, though it doe appeare by diuers most wicked and seditious Libels throwen abroad, that the dregs of these treasons, which the late Earl of Essex himselfe a litle before his death, did terme a Leprosie, that had infected farre and neere, do yet remaine in the hearts and tongues of some misaffected persons.

The

A Declaration of the Treasons of the

THE most partiall will not denie, but that *Robert* late Earle of *Essex* was by her Maiesties manifold benefits and graces, besides oath and allegiance, as much tied to her Maiestie, as the subject could be to the soueraigne, her Maiesty hauing heaped vpon him both dignities, offices, and gifts in such measure, as within the circle of twelue yeres or more, there was scarcely a yeere of rest, in which he did not obtaine at her Maiesties hands some notable addition either of honour or profit.

But he on the other side, making these her Maiesties fauours nothing els but wings for his ambition, and looking vpon them, not as her benefits, but as his aduantages, supposing that to be his owne mettall which was but her marke and impression, was so giuen ouer by God (who often punisheth ingratitude by ambition, and ambition by treason, and treason by finall ruine) as he had long agoe plotted it in his heart to become a dangerous supplanter of that seat, whereof he ought to haue beene a principall supporter: In such sort as now euerie man of common sense may discern not onely his last actuall and open treasons, but also his former more secret practises and preparations towards those his treasons, and that without any glosse or interpreter, but himselfe and his owne doings.

For first of all, the world can now expound, why it was that hee did aspire, and had almost attained vnto a greatnesse, like vnto the auncient greatnesse of the *Præfectus Prætorio* vnder the Emperours

perours of *Rome*, to haue all men of warre to make their sole and particular dependance vpon him: That with such ieaiousie and watchfulnesse hee sought to discountenance any one that might be a Competitor to him in any part of that greatnesse: That with great violence and bitterness he sought to suppress and keep downe all the worthiest Marshall men, which did not appropriate their respects and acknowledgements onely towards himselfe. All which did manifestly detect and distinguish, That it was not the reputation of a famous Leader in the warres which hee sought (as it was construed a great while) but onely power and greatnesse to serue his owne ends, considering he neuer loued vertue nor valor in another, but where he thought he should bee Proprietarie and Commander of it, as referred to himselfe.

So likewise those points of popularitie which euery man tooke notice and note of, as his affable gestures, open doores, making his table and his bed so popularly places of audience to suiters, denying nothing when he did nothing, feeding many men in their discontentments against the Queene and the State, and the like, as they were euer since *Ab-salons* time, the forerunners of treasons following, so in him were they either the qualities of a nature disposed to disloyaltie, or the beginnings and conceptions of that which afterwards grew to shape and forme.

But as it were a vaine thing to thinke to search the rootes and first motions of treasons, which are

A Declaration of the Treasons of the

known to none but God that discernes the heart, and the Diuell that giues the instigation : so it is more then to be presumed (being made apparant by the euidence of all the euent following) that he caried into *Ireland* a heart corrupted in his allegiance, and pregnant of those or the like treasons which afterwards came to light.

For being a man by nature of an high imagination, and a great promiser to himselfe aswell as to others, he was confident that if he were once the first person in a kingdome, and a sea betweene the Queenes seat and his, and *Wales* the neereest land from *Ireland*, and that he had got the flower of the English forces into his hands (which hee thought so to intermixe with his owne followers, as the whole body should mooue by his spirit) and if he might haue also absolutely into his hands *poteſtatem vitæ & necis, & arbitrium belli & pacis*, ouer the Rebels of *Ireland*, whereby he might entise, & make them his owne, first by pardons and conditions, and after by hopes to bring them in place where they should serue for hope of better booties then Cowes, he should be able to make that place of Lieutenancie of *Ireland*, as a rise or step to ascend to his desired greatnesse in *England*.

And although many of these conceites were windie, yet neither were they the lesse like to his, neither are they now onely probable coniectures or comments vpon these his last treasons, but the very preludes of actions almost immediatly subsequent, as shalbe touched in due place.

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But

But first it was strange with what appetite and thirst he did affect and compasse the gouernment of *Ireland*, which he did obtaine. For although he made some formall shewes to put it from him : yet in this, as in most things else, his desires being too strong for his dissimulations, he did so farre passe the bounds of *Decorum*, as he did in effect name himselfe to the Queene by such description and such particularities as could not be applyed to any other but himselfe: neither did he so onely, but further hee was still at hand to offer and vrge vehemently and peremptorily exceptions to any other that was named.

Then after hee once found that there was no man but himselfe (who had other matters in his head) so farre in loue with that charge, as to make any competition or opposition to his pursute, whereby he saw it would fall vpon him, and especially after himselfe was resolved vpon, he began to make propositions to her Maiestie by way of taxation of the former course held in manning the actions of *Ireland*, especially vpon three points: The first, that the proportions of forces which had bene there mainteined and continued by supplies, were not sufficient to bring the prosecutions there to period. The second, that the axe had not bene put to the roote of the tree, in regard there had not bin made a maine prosecution vpon the Archtraitour *Tyrone*, in his owne strength, within the Province of *Ulster*. The third, that the prosecutions before time had bene intermixed and interrupted

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The confessi-
on of Blunt. 3.

with too many temporising treaties, whereby the Rebell did euer gather strength and reputation to renew the warre with aduantage. All which goodly and well sounding discourses, together with the great vaunts that he would make the earth tremble before him, tended but to this, that the Queene should encrease the list of her Armie and all proportions of treasure and other furniture, to the end his commandement might be the greater. For that he neuer intended any such prosecution, may appeare by this, that euen at the time before his going into *Ireland* hee did open himselfe so farre in speech to *Blunt*, his inwardest counsellour, *That he did assure himselfe that many of the Rebels in Ireland would be aduised by him*: so far was he frō intending any prosecution towards those in whom he tooke himselfe to haue interest. But his ends were two: The one, to get great forces into his hands: the other, to oblige the heads of the rebellion vnto him, and to make them of his partie. These two endes had in themselues a repugnancie: for the one imported prosecution, and the other treaty: But hee that meant to be too strong to bee called to account for any thing, and meant besides, when he was once in *Ireland*, to ingage himselfe in other iourneys that should hinder the prosecution in the North, tooke things in order as they made for him. And so first did nothing as was sayd, but trumpet a finall and vtter prosecution against *Tyrone* in the North, to the ende to haue his forces augmented.

But

late Earle of Essex, and his Complices.

But yet he forgat not his other purpose of making himselfe strong by a partie amongst the Rebels, when it came to the scanning of the clauses of his commission. For then he did insist, and that with a kind of contestation, that the pardoning, no not of *Tyrone* himselfe, the capitall Rebelle, should be excepted and reserved to her Maiesties immediate grace, being infinitely desirous that *Tyrone* should not looke beyond him for his life or pardon, but should hold his fortune as of him, and accompt for it to him onely.

So againe, whereas in the commission of the Earle of *Sussex*, and of all other Lieutenants or deputies, there was euer in that clause which giueth vnto the Lieutenant or deputie, that high or regall point of authority to pardon Treasons and Traitors, an exception contained of such cases of treason as are committed against the person of the King: It was strange, and suspiciously strange, euen at that time, with what importunitie and instance he did labour, and in the end preuailed to haue that exception also omitted, glosing then, that because he had heard, that by strict exposition of law (a point in law that he would needes forget at his arraignment, but could take knowledge of it before, when it was to serue his owne ambition) all treasons of rebellion did tend to the destruction of the Kings person, it might breede a buzze in the Rebels heads, and so discourage them from comming in, whereas he knew well that in all experience passed, there was neuer Rebel made any

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doubt or scruple vpon that point to accept of pardon from all former gouernours, who had their Commissions penned with that limitation (their Commissions being things not kept secretly in a boxe, but published & recorded) so as it appeared manifestly that it was a meere deuise of his owne out of the secret reaches of his heart then not reuealed: but it may be shrewdly expounded since, what his drift was by those pardons which he granted to *Blunt* the Marshall, and *Thomas Lee*, and others, that his care was no lesse to secure his owne instruments then the Rebels of *Ireland*.

Yet was there another point for which he did contend & contest, which was, that he might not be tied to any opinion of the Counsell of *Ireland*, as all others in certain points (as pardoning traitors, concluding warre and peace, and some other principall articles) had bene before him, to the end he might be absolute of himselfe, and be fully Master of opportunities and occasions for the performing and executing of his owne treasonable ends.

But after he had once by her Maiesties singular trust and fauour toward him obtained his Patent of Commission as large, and his List of forces as full as hee desired, there was an end in his course of the prosecution in the North. For being arriued into *Ireland*, the whole cariage of his actions there, was nothing els but a cunning defeating of that iourney, with an intent (as appeared) in the ende of the yeere to pleasure and gratifie the Rebel with a dishonourable peace, and to contract
with

late Earle of Essex, and his Complices.

with him for his owne greatnesse.

Therefore not long after hee had receiued the sword, he did voluntarily ingage himselfe in an vnseasonable and fruitlesse iourney into *Munster*, a iourney neuer propounded in the Counsell there, neuer aduertized ouer hither while it was past: By which iourney her Maiesties forces which were to be preserued intire both in vigor and number for the great prosecution, were harased and tyred with long marches together, and the Northerne prosecution was indeede quite dashed and made impossible.

But yet still doubting he might receiue from her Maiestie some quicke & expresse commandement to proceede: to be sure, he pursued his former deuise of wrapping himselfe in other actions, and so set himselfe on worke anewe in the Countie of *Ophaley*, being resolu'd, as is manifest, to dallie out the season, and neuer to haue gone that iourney at all: That setting forward which he made in the very ende of August being but a meere plaie and a mockerie, and for the purposes which now shall be declared.

After he perceiued that foure moneths of the Summer, and three parts of the army were wasted, hee thought now was a time to set on foot such a peace as might be for the Rebels aduantage, and so to worke a mutuall obligation betweene *Tyrone* and himselfe, for which purpose he did but seeke a commodity. He had there with him in his armie one *Thomas Lee*, a man of a seditious and working spirit,

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spirit, and one that had bene priuately familiar and intirely beloued of *Tyrone*, and one that afterwards immediatly vpon *Essex* open rebellion, was apprehended for a desperate attempt of violence against her Maiesties person; which he plainly confessed, and for which hee suffered. Wherefore iudging him to be a fit instrument, he made some signification to *Lee* of such an imploiment, which was no sooner signified then apprehended by *Lee*. Hee gaue order also to sir *Christopher Blunt* Marshall of his army, to licence *Lee* to goe to *Tyrone* when hee should require it. But *Lee* thought good to let slip first vnto *Tyrone* (which was neuerthelesse by the Marshalls warrant) one *Iames Knowd*, a person of wit and sufficiencie, to sound in what termes and humours *Tyrone* then was. This *Knowd* returned a message from *Tyrone* to *Lee*, which was, That if the Earle of *Essex* would followe *Tyrones* plot, hee would make the Earle of *Essex* the greatest man that euer was in England: and further, that if the Earle would haue conference with him, *Tyrone* would deliuer his eldest sonne in pledge for his asurance. This message was deliuered by *Knowd* to *Lee*, and by *Lee* was imparted to the Earle of *Essex*, who after this message, imployed *Lee* himselfe to *Tyrone*, and by his negotiating (whatsoeuer passed els) prepared and disposed *Tyrone* to the parley.

And this imploiment of *Lee* was a matter of that guiltinesse in my Lord, as being charged with it at my Lord Keepers onely in this nature (for the message of *Knowd* was not then knowen) that
when

The confessi-
on of Th. Lee.

when he pretended to assaile *Tyrone*, he had before vnder hand agreed vpon a parley, my Lord vtterly denied it that he euer imploied *Lee* to *Tyrone* at all, and turned it vpon *Blunt* whom he afterwards required to take it vpon him, hauing before sufficiently provided for the security of all parts, for he had granted both to *Blunt* & *Lee* pardons of al treasons vnder the great scale of *Ireland*, and so himselfe disclaiming it, & they being pardoned, all was safe.

But when that *Tyrone* was by these meanes (besides what others God knowes) prepared to demand a parley, now was the time for *Essex* to acquite himselfe of al the Queenes commandements and his owne promises and vndertakings for the Northern iourney, and not so alone, but to haue the glory at the disadvantage of the yere, being but 2500. strong of foote, and 300. of horse, after the fresh disaster of sir *Coniers Clifford*, in the height of the Rebels pride, to set forth to assaile, and then that the very terror and reputation of my Lord of *Essex* person was such as did daunt him and make him stoope to seeke a parley, and this was the end he shot at in that September iourney, being a mere abuse and brauery, and but inducements onely to the Treaty, which was the onely matter he intended. For *Essex* drawing now towards the *Catastrophe*, or last part of that Tragedy, for which he came vpon the Stage in *Ireland*, his Treasons grew to a further ripenesse. For knowing how vnfit it was for him to communicate with any English, euen of those whom hee trusted most, and

In the confession of *Blunt* at the barre, he did there declare that he had *Essex* his particular warrant to send *Lee*, and afterwarde was desired by *Essex* to take it vpon himselfe, and that they both had pardons.

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meant to vse in other Treasons: That he had an intention to growe to an agreement with *Tyrone* to haue succors from him for the vsurping vpon the State here, (not because it was more dangerous then the rest of his treasons, but because it was more odious, and in a kind monstrous, that hee should conspire with such a Rebelle, against whom he was sent: and therfore might aduenture to alienate mens affections from him) he draue it to this, that there might bee, and so there was, vnder colour of treaty, an interuiue & priuate conference betweene *Tyrone* and himselfe onely, no third person admitted. A strange course, considering with whom he dealt, and especially considering what message *Knowde* had brought, which should haue made him rather call witnesses to him, then auoid witnesses. But he being only true to his own ends, easily dispensed with all such considerations. Nay, there was such carefull order taken, that no person should ouerheare one worde that passed betweene them two: as because the place appointed and vsed for the parley was such, as there was the depth of a brooke betweene them, which made them speake some lowdnesse: there were certaine horsemen appointed by order from *Essex*, to keepe all men off, a great distance from the place.

It is true, that the secrecie of that parley, as it gaue to him the more liberty of Treason, so it may giue any man the more libertie of surmize, what was then handled between them, inasmuch as nothing can beeknownen, but by report from one of them

late Earle of *Essex*, and his Complices.

them two, either *Essex* or *Tyrone*.

But, although there were no proceeding against *Essex* vpon these treasons, and that it were a needlesse thing to load more treasons vpon him then, whose burthen was so great after : yet for truthes sake, it is fit the world know, what is testified touching the speeches, letters and reports of *Tyrone*, immediatly following this conference, & obserue also what ensued likewise in the desseignes of *Essex* himselfe.

On *Tyrone*s part it fell out, that the very day after that *Essex* came to the court of *England*, *Tyrone* hauing conference with Sir *William Warren* at *Armagh*, by way of discourse told him, and bound it with an oath, and iterated it two or three seuerall times : *That within two or three moneths, he should see the greatest alterations and strangest that euer hee sawe in his life, or could imagine : and that hee the said Tyrone hoped ere long to haue a good share in England.* With this concurred fully the report of *Richard Bremingham* a gentleman of the *Pale*, hauing made his repaire about the same time to *Tyrone*, to right him in a cause of land : sauing that *Bremingham* deliuers the like speech of *Tyrone* to himselfe: but, not what *Tyrone* hoped, but what *Tyrone* had promised in these words, *That hee had promised* (it may bee thought to whom) *ere long to shew his face in England, little to the good of England.*

The relation of sir Wi. Warren certified vnder his hand frō the Councell of Ireland to the Lords of the Councell here.

The report of Ri. Bremingham to the Councell of Estate in Ireland.

These generalities comming immediatly from the report of *Tyrone* himselfe, are drawn to more particularitie in a conference had betweene the

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Lord *Fitz Morrice* Baron of *Liksnawe* in *Munster*, and one *Thomas Wood* a person wel reputed of, immediatly after *Essex* comming into *England*. In which conference *Fitz Morrice* declared vnto *Wood*, that *Tyrone* had written to the traiterous titularie Earle of *Desmond*, to informe him, that the Condition of that Contract betweene *Tyrone* and *Essex* was, *That Essex should be king of England: And that Tyrone should holde of him the honour and state of Viceroy of Ireland: And that the proportion of souldiers, which Tyrone should bring or send to Essex, were 8000 Irish.* With which concurrerth fully the testimony of the said *James Knowde*, who being in credit with *Owny Mac Roory* chiefe of the *Omoores* in *Lemster*, was vsed as a Secretarie for him, in the writing of a letter to *Tyrone*, immediatly after *Essex* comming into *England*. The effect of which letter was : *To vnderstand some light of the secret agreement betweene the Earle of Essex and Tyrone, that he the said Owny might frame his course accordingly.* Which letter, with further instructions to the same effect, was in the presence of *Knowde* deliuered to *Turlagh Macdauy*, a man of trust with *Owny*, who brought an answer from *Tyrone*. The cōtents whereof were: *That the Earle of Essex had agreed to take his part, and that they should ayd him towards the conquest of England.*

Besides, very certaine it is, & testified by diuers credible persons, that immediatly vpon this parley, there did flie abroad as sparckles of this fire, (which it did not concern *Tyrone* so much to keep secret, as it did *Essex*) a generall and receiued opinion,

The confessi-
on of Tho.
Wood,

The confessi-
on of James
Knowde.

late Earle of Essex, and his Complices.

nion, that went vp and down in the mouthes both of the better and meaner sort of Rebels : *That the Earle of Essex was theirs, and they his : and that hee would neuer leaue the one sword, meaning that of Ireland, till he had gotten the other in England: and that he would bring them to serue, where they should haue other maner of booties then comes :* and the like speeches. And *Thomas Lee* himselfe, (who had bene, as was before declared, with *Tyrone* two or three dayes, vpon my Lords sending, and had sounded him) hath left it confessed vnder his hand : *That he knew the Earle of Essex and Tyrone to be one, and to runne the same courses.*

The declarations of Da. Hethrington, James Knowd and others.

The confession of Th. Lee.

And certaine it is also, that immediatly vpon that parley, *Tyrone* grewe into a strange and vntoonted pride, and appointed his progresses and visitations to receiue congratulations and homages from his confederates, and behaued himselfe in all things as one that had some new spirite of hope and courage put into him.

But on the Earle of *Essex* his part insued immediatly after this parley a strange motion and proiect, which though no doubt hee had harbored in his brest before : yet for any thing yet appeareth, he did not vtter and breake with any in it, before he had bene confirmed and fortified in his purpose, by the combination and correspondence, which hee found in *Tyrone* vpon their conference. Neither is this a matter gathered out of reports, but confessed directly by two of his principall friendes and associats, being witnesses vpon their owne know-

The Earle of Southampton and sir Christopher Blunt.

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The substance
of that which
is confessed
by Southamp-
ton and Blunt
touching Es-
sex purpose to
haue trans-
ported into
England the
armie of Ire-
land, and the
changing of
that dessein
into the other
dessein of sur-
prising the
Queene and
the Court.

ledge, & of that which was spoken to themselves:
The substance of which confessions is this : *That a
little before my Lords comming ouer into England, at
the castle of Dublin where Sir Christopher Blunt lay
hurt, hauing bene lately remooued thither from Reban,
a castle of Thomas Lees, and placed in a lodging that
had bene my Lord of Southamptons : the Earle of Es-
sex tooke the Earle of Southampton with him, to vi-
sit Blunt, and there being none present but they three,
my Lord of Essex told them, he found it now necessary
for him to go into England, and would aduise with them
of the manner of his going, since to goe he was resolu-
ed. And thereupon propounded vnto them, that he thought
it fit to cary with him of the army in Ireland, as much
as hee could conueniently transport, at least the choise
of it, to the number of two or three thousand, to secure
and make good his first descent on shore, purposing to land
them at Milford hauen in Wales, or thereabouts: not
doubting, but that his army would so increase within a
small time, by such as would come in to him, as hee should
be able to march with his power to London, and make
his own conditions as he thought good. But, both South-
ampton and Blunt dissuaded him from this enterprise:
Blunt alledging the hazard of it, & that it would make
him odious: and Southampton utterly disliking of that
course vpon the same and many other reasons. Howbeit
thereupon Blunt aduised him rather to another course,
which was to draw forth of the Army some 200. resolute
gentlemen, & with those to come ouer, & so to make sure
of the Court, and so to make his owne conditions. Which
Confessions it is not amisse to deliuer, by what a
good*

late Earle of Essex, and his Complices.

good prouidence of God they came to light: for, they could not bee vsed at *Essex* arraignment to charge him, because they were vttered after his death.

But Sir *Christopher Blunt* at his arraignment being charged that the Earle of *Essex* had let it downe vnder his hand, that he had bene a principall Instigator of him, to his treasons, in passion brake forth into these speeches: *That then he must be forced to disclose what further matters he had held my Lord from, and desired for that purpose (because the present proceeding should not be interrupted) to speake with the Lord Admirall and M. Secretarie, after his arraignment, and so fell most naturally and most voluntarily into this his confession, which if it had bene thought fit to haue required of him at that time publicly, he had deliuered before his conuiction. And the same confession he did after (at the time of his executiō) constantly and fully confirme, discourse particularly, and take vppon his death, where neuer any man shewed lesse feare, nor a greater resolution to die.*

The speech of Sir Christopher Blunt at his arraignment, and the occasion of the falling into the aforesayd confessions.

And the same matter so by him confessed, was likewise confessed with the same circumstances of time and place by *Southampton*, being seuerally examined thereupon.

So as nowe the worlde may see how long since my Lord put off his vizard, and disclosed the secrets of his heart to two of his most confident friends, falling vpon that vnnaturall and detestable treason, whereunto all his former Actions in his gouernement in *Ireland*, (and God knowes howe long

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long before) were but Introductions.

The place of
Generall of
the horse in
the armie of
Ireland was
conferred by
Essex vpon
Southampton
contrary to
her Maiesties
expresse com-
mandement.

But, finding that these two persons, which of all the rest hee thought to haue found forwardest, *Southampton*, whose displacing hee had made his owne discontentment (hauing placed him, no question to that ende, to find cause of discontentment) and *Blunt*, a man so enterprizing and prodigal of his owne life, (as himselfe termed himselfe at the Barre) did not applaud to this his purpose, and thereby doubting how coldly he should find others minded, that were not so neere to him. And therefore condescending to *Blunts* aduise to surprize the Court, hee did pursue that plot accordingly, and came ouer with a selected companie of Captaines and voluntaries, and such as hee thought were most affectionate vnto himselfe, and most resolute, though not knowing of his purpose. So as euen at that time, euery man noted and wondered, what the matter should be, that my Lord tooke his most particular friends and followers from their companies, which were countenance and meanes vnto them, to bring them ouer. But his purpose (as in part was touched before) was this: that if he held his greatnesse in Court, and were not committed (which in regard of the miserable and deplored estate he left *Ireland* in, whereby he thought the opinion here would be that his seruice could not be spared, he made full account he should not be) then, at the first opportunitie, he would execute the surprize of her Maiesties person. And if he were committed to the Tower, or

late Earle of Effex, and his Complices.

to prison for his contempts, (for besides his other contempts, hee came ouer expressly against the Queenes prohibition vnder her Signet) it might be the care of some of his principall friends, by the helpe of that choise and resolute company which he brought ouer, to rescue him.

But the pretext of his coming ouer was, by the efficacie of his owne presence and perswasion, to haue moued and drawen her Maiestie to accept of such conditions of peace, as hee had treated of with *Tyrone*, in his priuate conference: which was indeed somewhat needfull, the principall Article of them being, *That there should be a generall restitution of Rebels in Ireland to all their lands & possessions, that they could pretend any right to, before their going out into Rebellion*: without reseruatiō of such lands as were by Act of Parliament passed to the Crowne, and so planted with English both in the time of *Q. Mary*, and since: and without difference either of time of their going forth, or nature of their offence, or other circumstance, tending in effect to this: That all the Queenes good subiects, in most of the Prouinces, should haue beene displanted, and the Countrey abandoned to the Rebels.

When this man was come ouer, his heart thus fraughted with Treasons, and presented himselfe to her Maiestie: it pleased God, in his singular prouidence ouer her Maiestie, to guide and hem in her proceeding towards him, in a narrow way of safetie betweene two perils. For neither did her Maiestie leaue him at libertie, whereby he might

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haue commodity to execute his purpose : nor restrain him in any such nature, as might signifie or betoken matter of despaire of his returne to Court and fauour. And so the meanes of present mischief being taken away, and the humours not stirred, this matter fell asleepe, and the threed of his purposes was cut off. For, comming ouer about the end of September, and not denied accesse and conference with her Maiesty, and then being commanded to his chamber at Court for some dayes, and from thence to the Lord Keepers house; it was conceined, that these were no ill signes. At my Lord Keepers house he remained, till some fewe dayes before *Easter*, and then was remooued to his owne house, vnder the custody of Sir *Richard Barkley*, and in that sort continued till the end of *Trinity Terme* following.

For, her Maiestie all this while looking into his faults, with the eye of her princely fauour, and loth to take aduantage of his great offences, in other nature then as contempts, resolved so to proceed against him, as might (to vse her Maiesties owne words) tend, *ad correctionem, & non ad ruinam.*

Neuerthelesse afterwards, about the ende of *Trinitie Terme* following, for the better satisfaction of the world, and to repressse seditious bruits and libels, which were dispersed in his iustification, and to obserue a forme of iustice, before hee should be set at full libertie: her Maiestie was pleased to direct, that there should be associate vnto her Priuie Councell, some chosen persons of her Nobility,

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Nobility, and of her Iudges of the law: and before them his cause, (concerning the breaking of his instructions for the Northerne prosecution, and the manner of his treating with *Tyrone*, and his comming ouer, and leauing the kingdome of *Ireland*, contrary to her Maielties commandement, expressed as wel by signification thereof made vnder her Royall hand and Signet, as by a most binding and effectual letter, written priuately to himselfe) to receiue a hearing: with limitation neuertheles, that hee should not bee charged with any point of disloyalty; and with like fauour directed, that he should not be called in question in the open and ordinary place of offendours in the Starre Chamber, from which hee had likewise by a most penitent and humble letter desired to be spared, as that which would haue wounded him for euer, as he affirmed, but in a more priuate manner at my Lord Keepers house. Neither was the effect of the sentence, that there passed against him, any more then a suspension of the exercise of some of his places: At which time also, *Essex* that could varie himselfe into all shapes for a time, infinitely desirous (as by the sequels now appeareth) to be at liberty to practise & reuiue his former purposes, and hoping to set into them with better strength then euer, because he conceiued the peoples hearts were kindled to him by his troubles, and that they had made great demonstrations of as much: he did transforme himselfe into such a strange & dejected humility, as if he had bene no man of this world, with

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passionate protestations, that he called God to witness, *that he had made an utter diuorce with the world: and he desired her Maiesties fauour, not for any worldly respect, but for a preparatiue for a Nunc dimittis: And that the teares of his heart had quenched in him all humors of ambition.* All this to make her Maiesty secure, and to lull the world asleepe, that hee was not a man to be held any wayes dangerous.

Not many dayes after, Sir *Richard Barkley* his keeper was remoued from him, and he set at libertie, with this admonition only: *That hee should not take himselfe to be altogether discharged, though he were left to the guard of none, but his owne discretion.* But he felt himselfe no sooner vpon the wings of his libertie, but (notwithstanding his former shewes of a mortified estate of minde) he began to practise afresh, as busily as euer reuiuing his former resolution: which was the surprizing and possessing the Queenes person, and the Court. And that it may appeare how early after his libertie he set his engines on worke, hauing long before entertained into his seruice, and during his gouernment in *Ireland*, drawne neere vnto him in the place of his chiefe Secretary, one *Henry Cusse*, a base fellow by birth, but a great scholler, and indeede a notable Traytor by the booke, being otherwise of a turbulent and mutinous spirit against all superiours:

This fellow, in the beginning of August, which was not a moneth after *Essex* libertie granted, fell of practising with Sir *Henry Newill*, that serued her Maiestie as Ligier Ambassadour with the French King,

King, and then newly come ouer into *England* from *Bulleyne*, abusing him with a false lie, and meere inuention, that his seruice was blamed and misliked, and that the imputation of the breach of the treaty of Peace held at *Bulleyne*, was like to light vpon him, (when there was no colour of any such matter) onely to distaste him of others, and fasten him to my Lord, though he did not acquaint him with any particulars of my Lords deseignes, till a good while after.

The declaration of sir He. Neuell.

But my Lorde hauing spent the ende of the Summer (being a priuate time, when euery body was out of towne and dispersed) in digesting his owne thoughts, with the helpe and conference of Master *Cusse*, they had soone set downe betweene them the ancient principle of Traitors and Conspirators, which was: *To prepare many, and to acquaint few*; and after the maner of Mynes, to make ready their powder, and place it, and then giue fire but in the instant. Therefore, the first consideration was of such persons as my Lord thought fit to draw to be of his party; singling out both of Nobilitie and Martiall men, and others, such as were discontented or turbulent, and such as were weake of iudgement, and easie to be abused, or such as were wholly dependants and followers (for meanes or countenance) of himselte, *Southampton* or some other of his greatest associates.

And knowing there were no such strong and drawing cordes of popularitie, as religion: he had not neglected, both at this time, and long before,

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The confessi-
on of Blunt
and Davis.

in a profane pollicy to serue his turne (for his own greatnesse,) of both sorts & factions, both of *Catholicks* and *Puritanes*, as they terme them, turning his out side to the one, and his inside to the other, and making himselfe pleasing and gracious to the one sort by professing zeale, and frequenting sermons; and making much of Preachers, and secretly vnder hand giuing assurance to *Blunt*, *Dauies*, and diuers others, that (if hee might preuaile in his desired greatnesse,) hee would bring in a toleration of the *Catholike* religion.

The declara-
tion of Sir
Henry Neuil,
and Confes-
sion of Sir
Ferdinando
Gorge.

Then hauing passed the whole *Michaelmas* Terme in making himselfe plausible, and in drawing concourse about him, and in affecting & alluring men by kinde prouocations and vsage, wherein (because his libertie was qualified) hee neither forgot exercise of minde nor body, neither Sermon nor Tennis Court, to giue the occasion and freedome of accessse and concourse vnto him) and much other practise and deuise: About the end of that terme, towards *Christmas*, hee grew to a more framed resolution of the time and maner, when and how hee would put his purpose in execution. And first about the ende of *Michaelmas* Terme, it passed as a kind of cipher and watchword amongst his friends and followers, *That my Lord would stand vpon his guard*: which might receiue construction, in a good sense, as well guard of circumspection, as guard of force: but to the more priuate and trusty persons hee was content it should be expounded that he would be couped vp no more, nor ha-
zard.

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zard any more restraints or commandements.

But the next care was, how to bring such persons, as he thought fit for his purpose, into Towne together, without vent of suspicion, to be ready at the time, when he should put his deseigne in execution: which he had concluded should be some time in Hillarie Terme: wherein hee found many deuices to draw them vp, some for sutes in Lawe, and some for sutes in Court, & some for assurance of land: and one friend to draw vp another, it not being perceiued, that all mooued from one head. And it may be truely noted, that in the Catalogue of those persons, that were the eight of February in the action of open Rebellion, a man may finde almost out of euery County of *England* some, which could not be by chance or constellation: and in the particularity of Examinations (too long to be rehearsed) it was easie to trace in what sort many of them were brought vp to Towne, & held in Town vpon seuerall pretences. But in Candlemas Terme, when the time drew neere, then was hee content consultation should be had by certaine choise persons, vpon the whole matter and course which he should hold. And because hee thought himselfe and his own house more obserued, it was thought fit, that the meeting and conference should bee at *Drury house*, where *S. Charles Dauers* lodged. There mette at this Councell, the Earle of *Southampton*, with whom in former times hee had bene at some emulations and differences in Court. But after, *Southampton* having married his kinlwoman, and plunged

The confession
of Blunt.

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plunged himselfe wholly into his fortune, and being his continuall Associate in *Ireland*, hee accounted of him as most assured vnto him, and had long agoe in *Ireland* acquainted him with his purpose, as was declared before. Sir *Charles Dauers*, one exceedingly deuoted to the Earle of *Southampton*, vpon affection begun first vpon the deseruing of the same Earle towards him, when he was in trouble about the murther of one *Long*. Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, one that the Earle of *Essex* had of purpose sent for vp from his gouernment at *Plymouth* by his letter, with particular assignation to be here before the 2. of *February*. Sir *Iohn Davies*, one that had bene his seruant, and raised by him, and that bare Office in the Tower, being Surueyour of the Ordinance, & one that he greatly trusted: and *Iohn Littleton*, one they respected for his wit and valour.

The confessions
of, sir Charles
Dauers. 1. 2.
Sir Io. Davis 2.
Sir Ferdin.
Gorge 2.
Sir Christo-
pher Blunt 2.
Southampton
at the barre.

The consultation and conference rested vpon three parts: The perusall of a list of those persons, whom they tooke to be of their party: The consideration of the Action it selfe, which they should set a foot, and how they should proceed in it: And the distribution of the persons, according to the Action concluded on, to their severall imployments.

The list contained the number of sixe score persons, Noblemen and Knights, and principall Gentlemen, and was (for the more credits sake) of the Earle of *Essex* owne hand writing.

For the Action it selfe, there was proposition made of two principall Articles: The one, of possessing the Tower of *London*: the other of surprising
her

her Maiesties person and the Court, in which also deliberation was had, what course to hold with the Citie, either towards the effecting of the surprize, or after it was effected.

For the Tower was alleadged, the giuing a reputation to the Action, by getting into their hand the principall Fort of the Realme, with the stores and prouisions thereunto appertaining, the bridling of the Citie by that piece, and commoditie of entrance in and possessing it, by the meanes of Sir *Iohn Davis*. But this was by opinion of all reiected, as that which would distract their attempt from the more principall, which was the Court, and as that which they made a iudgement would follow incidently, if the Court were once possessed.

But the later, which was the ancient plot, (as was well knowen to *Southampton*) was in the ende, by the generall opinion of them all, insisted and rested vpon.

And the maner howe it should bee ordered and disposed was this: That certaine selected persons of their number, such as were well knowen in Court, and might haue access without checke or suspicion, into the seuerall roumes in Court, according to the seuerall qualities of the persons, and the differences of the roumes, should distribute themselues into the Presence, the Guard-chamber, the Hall, and the vtter Court and gate, and some one principall man vndertaking euery

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seuerall

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feuerall rounge with the strength of some fewe to beioyned with him, euery man to make good his charge, according to the occasion. In which distribution, *sir Charles Dauers* was then named to the Presence, and to the great chamber, where he was appointed, when time should bee, to seaze vpon the Halberds of the Gard: *sir John Davies* to the Hall: and *sir Christopher Blunt* to the vtter Gate: these seeming to them, the three principall wards of consideration. And that things being within the Court in a readinesse, a signall should be giuen and sent to *Essex*, to set forward from *Essex house*, being no great distance off. Whereupon *Essex*, accompanied with the noble men of his party, and such as should bee prepared and assembled at his house for that purpose, should march towards the Court: And that the former conspirators already entered should giue correspondence to them without, as well by making themselues Masters of the gates to giue them entrance, as by attempting to get into their hand vpon the suddaine the Halberds of the Guard, thereby hoping to preuent any great resistance within, and by filling all full of tumult and confusion.

This being the platforme of their enterprise, the second act of this Tragedy was also resolved, which was, that my Lord should present himselfe to her Maiestie as prostrating himselfe at her feete, and desire the remoue of such persons, as he called his enemies, from about her. And after that my
Lord

Lord had obtained possession of the Queene, and the State: hee should call his pretended enemies to a triall vpon their liues, and summon a Parliament, and alter the gouernement, and obtaine to himselfe, and his associates, such conditions as seemed to him and them good.

There passed speech also in this conspiracie, of possessing the Citie of *London*, which *Essex* himselfe, in his owne particular and secret inclination, had euer a speciall mind vnto: not as a departure or going from his purpose of possessing the Court, but as an inducement and preparatiue to performe it vpon a surer ground. An opinion bred in him, (as may bee imagined) partly by the great ouerweening he had of the loue of the Citizens: but chiefly, in all likelihood, by a feare, that although hee should haue preuailed in getting her Maiesties person into his hands for a time, with his two or three hundred Gentlemen, yet, the very beames and graces of her Maiesties magnanimitie and prudent cariage in such disaster working, with the naturall instinct of loyaltie, which of course (when fury is ouer) doth euer reuiue in the hearts of subjects of any good blood or mind (such as his troope for the more part was compounded of, though by him seduced and bewitched) would quickly breake the knot, and cause some disunion and separation amongst them, whereby hee might haue bene left destitute, except he should builde vpon some more popular number, according to

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the nature of all vsurping Rebels, which doe euer trust more in the common people, then in persons of sort or qualitie. And this may well appeare by his owne plot in *Ireland*, which was to haue come with the choise of the Armie, from which hee was diuerted, as before is shewed. So as his owne courses inclined euer to rest vpon the maine strength of the multitude, and not vpon surprises, or the combinations of a fewe.

But to returne: These were the resolutions taken at that consultation, held by these fīue at *Drury house*, some fīue or sixe dayes before the Rebellion, to be reported to *Essex*, who euer kept in himselfe the binding and directing voice: which he did to preuent all differences that might grow by dissent or contradiction. And besides he had other persons, (which were *Cusse* and *Blunt*) of more inwardnesse and confidence with him then these, (*Southampton* only excepted) which managed that Consultation. And, for the day of the Enterprise, which is that must rise out of the knowledge of all the opportunities and difficulties, it was referred to *Essex* his owne choise and appointment: it being neuerthelesse resolved, that it should be sometime before the end of *Candlemas Terme*.

But this Councell and the resolutions thereof, were in some points refined by *Essex*, and *Cusse*, and *Blunt*: for, first it was thought good, for the better making sure of the vtter gate of the Court, and the greater celeritie and suddennesse, to haue a troupe
at

late Earle of Essex, and his Complices.

at receipt to a competent number, to haue come from the *Mewes*, where they should haue bene assembled without suspicion in seuerall companies, and from thence cast themselves in a moment vpon the Court gate, and ioyne with them which were within, while *Essex* with the maine of his company were making forward.

It was also thought fit, that because they would be Common wealths-men, and foresee, that the businesse and seruice of the publique State should not stand still: they should haue ready at Court, and at hand, certaine other persons to be offered, to supplie the offices and places of such her Maiesties Counsellors and seruants, as they should demand to be remoued and displaced.

But chiefly it was thought good, that the assembling of their companies together, should bee vpon some plausible pretext; both to make diuers of their company, that vnderstood not the depth of the practises, the more willing to follow them: and to ingage themselves, and to gather them together the better without perill of detecting or interrupting: and againe, to take the Court the more vnprovidid, without any Alarme giuen. So as now there wanted nothing, but the Assignation of the day: which neuerthelesse was resolved indefinitely to be before the end of the Terme, as was sayd before, for the putting in execution of this most dangerous and execrable Treason. But God who had in his diuine prouidence long agoe

The confessi-
on of Blunt. 3.

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curst this action, with the Curse that the Psalme speaketh of, *That it should be like the vntimely fruit of a woman, brought forth before it came to perfection*, so disposed aboue, that her Maiesty vnderstanding by a generall charme and muttering of the great and vniuersall resort to *Essex house*, contrary to her Princely admonition, and somewhat differing from his former maner (as there could not be so great fire without some smoke) vpon the seuenth of February, the afternoone before this Rebellion, sent to *Essex house* M. Secretary *Harbert*, to require him to come before the Lords of her Maiesties Councell, then sitting in Counsell at *Salisbury Court*, being the Lord Treasurers house: where it was onely intended, that he should haue receiued some reprehension, for exceeding the limitations of his liberty, granted to him in a qualified maner, without any intention towards him of restraint, which hee, vnder colour of not being well, excused to doe: but his owne guiltie conscience applying it, that his Traynes were discouered, doubting perill in any further delay, determined to hasten his enterprise, and to set it on foote the next day.

But then againe, hauing some aduertisement in the euening, that the guards were doubled at Court, and laying that to the message hee had receiued ouernight: and so concluding that *Allarme* was taken at Court, hee thought it to bee in vaine, to thinke of the enterprise of the Court,

by

by way of surprize : but that nowe his onely way was, to come thither in strength , and to that ende first to attempt the Citie. Wherein hee did but fall backe to his owne former opinion, which hee had in no sort neglected, but had formerly made some ouertures to prepare the Citie to take his part : relying himselfe, (besides his generall conceipt, that himselfe was the darling and mynion of the people, and specially of the Citie) more particularly vpon assurance giuen of *Thomas Smith*, then Shirriffe of *London*, a man well beloued amongst the Citizens, and one that had some particular command of some of the trayned forces of the Citie, to ioyne with him. Hauing therefore concluded vpon this determination, now was the time to execute in fact , all that he had before in purpose digested.

First therefore hee concluded of a pretext which was euer part of the plot, and which hee had meditated vpon, and studied long before. For finding himselfe (thanks bee to God) to seeke, in her Maiesties gouernement, of any iust pretext in matter of state, either of innouation, oppression, or any vnworthinesse : As in all his former discontentments , hee had gone the beaten path of Traytours, turning their imputation vpon Counsellours , and persons of credit with their Soueraigne : so nowe hee was forced to descend to the pretext of a priuate quarrell, giuing out this speech, howe that euening , when hee should

should haue bene called before the Lordes of the Councell , there was an Ambuscado of Musketters placed vpon the water , by the deuise of my Lord *Cobham* , and Sir *Walter Raleigh* , to haue murdered him by the way as hee passed . A matter of no probability, those persons hauing no such desperate estates or mindes, as to ruine themselves and their posteritie , by committing so odious a crime.

But contrariwise, certaine it is , Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* accused *Blunt* , to haue perswaded him to kill , or at least apprehend *Sir Walter Raleigh* , the latter whereof *Blunt* denieth not , and asked *Sir Walter Raleigh* forgiuenesse at the time of his death.

Confession of
sir Ferdinando
Gorge.

But this pretext being the best hee had, was taken, and then did messages and warnings fly thicke vp and downe to euery particular Nobleman, and gentleman, both that euening and the next morning, to draw them together in the forenoone to *Essex house*, dispersing the foresaid fable , That hee should haue bene murdered, saue that it was sometime on the water, sometime in his bed, varying according to the nature of a lye. Hee sent likewise the same night , certaine of his instruments , as namely, one *William Temple* his *Secretary* into the *Citie*, to disperse the same tale , hauing increased it some fewe daies before by an addition, That he should haue bene likewise murdered by some Iesuits to the number of foure: and to fortifie this pretext,

text, and to make the more buzze of the danger hee stood in, hee caused that night a watch to bee kept all night long towards the street, in his house: the next morning, which was Sunday, they came vnto him of all handes, according to his messages and warnings. Of the Nobilitie, the Earles of *Rutland*, *Southampton*, and the Lord *Sands*, and Sir *Henry Parker*, commonly called the *Lord Mountegle*, besides diuers Knights and principall Gentlemen and their followers, to the number of some three hundreth. And also it being Sunday, and the houre when hee had vsed to haue a Serimon at his house, it gaue cause to some, and colour to others to come vpon that occasion. As they came, my Lord saluted and imbraced, and to the generalitie of them gaue to vnderstand, in as plausible termes as hee could, *That his life had bene sought, and that hee meant to goe to the Court, and declare his griefes to the Queene, because his enemies were mightie, and vsed her Maiesties name and commaundement*, and desired their helpe to take his part: But vnto the more speciall persons hee spake high and in other termes, telling them *That hee was sure of the Citie, and would put himselfe into that strength, that her Maiestie shoulde not bee able to stand against him, and that he would take reuenge of his enemies.*

The confessi-
on of the Erle
of Rutland.

All the while after eight of the clocke in the morning, the gates to the Streete and water were strongly guarded, and men taken in and let forth by discretion of those that helde the charge, but

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with speciall caution of receiuing in such as came from Court, but not suffering them to goe backe without my Lords speciall direction, to the end no particularitie of that which passed there might be knowne to her Maiestie.

About 10. of the clocke, her Maiestie hauing vnderstanding of this strange and tumultuous assembly at *Essex house*, yet in her Princely wisdomme and moderation thought to cast water vpon this fire before it brake forth to further inconuenience: and therefore vsing authoritie before she would vse force, sent vnto him foure persons of great Honour and place, and such as hee euer pretended to reuerence and loue, to offer him iustice for any griefs of his, but yet to lay her Royal commandement vpon him to disperse his company, and vpon them to withdraw themselues.

These foure Honourable persons, being the Lord Keeper of the great Seale of *England*, the Earle of *Worcester*, the Controller of her Maiesties household, and the Lord chiefe Iustice of *England*, came to the house, and found the gates shut vpon them. But after a little stay, they were let in at the wicket, and as soone as they were within, the wicket was shut, and all their seruants kept out, except the Bearer of the Seale. In the court they found the Earles with the rest of the company, the court in a maner full, and vpon their comming towards *Essex*, they all flocked and thronged about them: whereupon the Lord Keeper in an audible voice deliuered to the Earle the Queenes message,

That

The declaration of the L. Keeper, the Earle of Worcester, the L. chiefe Iustice vnder their hands.

The othe of the L. chiefe Iustice *Viva*

The declaration of the Earle of Worcester *Viva*

late Earle of Essex, and his Complices.

That they were sent by her Maiestie to vnderstand the cause of this their assembly, and to let them knowe that if they had any particular cause of griefes against any persons whatsoeuer, they should haue hearing and iustice.

Whereupon the Earle of Essex in a very lowd and furious voyce declared, *That his life was sought, And that hee should haue bene murdered in his bed, And that he had bene perfidiously dealt withall,* and other speeches to the like effect. To which the Lord Chiefe Iustice saide, If any such matter were attempted or intended against him, it was fit for him to declare it, assuring him both a faithfull relation on their part, and that they could not faile of a princely indifferencie and iustice on her Maiesties part.

To which the Earle of Southampton tooke occasion to obiect the assault made vpon him by the Lord Gray: which my Lord Chiefe Iustice returned vpon him, and saide, *That in that case iustice had bene done, and the partie was in prison for it.*

Then the Lord Keeper required the Earle of Essex, that if he would not declare his griefes openly, yet that then hee would impart them priuately, and then they doubted not to giue him or procure him satisfaction.

Vpon this there arose a great clamor among the multitude, *Away my Lord: they abuse you, they betray you: they vndoe you: you lose time.* Whereupon my L. Keeper put on his hat, and said with a louder

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voyce then before: *My Lord, let vs speake with you priuately, and vnderstand your griefes: and, I doe commaund you all vpon your allegiance, to lay downe your weapons, and to depart.* Vppon which wordes the Earle of *Effex* and all the rest, as disdaining commandement, put on their hats: and *Effex* somewhat abruptly went from him into the house, and the Counsellors followed him, thinking hee would haue priuate conference with them, as was required.

And as they passed through the seuerall roomes, they might heare many of the disordered companie crie, *Kill them, kill them:* and others crying, *Nay, but shope them vp, keepe them as pledges, cast the great Seale out at the windowe*, and other such audacious and traiterous speeches. But *Effex* tooke holde of the occasion and aduantage, to keepe in deed such pledges if he were distressed, and to haue the countenance to leade them with him to the Court, especially the two great Magistrates of Iustice, and the great Seale of *England* if he preuailed, and to depriue her Maiestie of the vse of their counsell in such a strait, and to ingage his followers in the very beginning by such a capital act, as the imprisonment of Counsellors carying her Maiesties royall commaundement for the suppressing of a rebellious force.

And after that they were come vp into his booke chamber, hee gaue order they should bee kept fast, giuing the charge of their custodie principally to *Sir Iohn Davis*, but adioyned vnto him
a war-

a warder, one *Owen Salisburie*, one of the most sedicious and wicked persons of the number, hauing beene a notorious robber, and one that serued the enemy vnder Sir *William Stanley*, and that bare a speciall spleene vnto my Lord Chiefe Iustice, who garded these honourable persons with Muskets charged, and Matches ready fiered at the chamber doore.

This done, the Earle (notwithstanding my Lord Keeper still required to speake with him) left the charge of his house with Sir *Gilly Mericke*, and vsing these words to my Lord Keeper, *Haue patience for a while, I will goe take order with the Maior and Sherifes for the Citie, and be with you againe within halfe an houre*, issued with his troupe into London, to the number of two hundreth, besides those that remained in the house, choise men for hardinesse and valour, vnto whom some Gentlemen, and one Noble man did after ioyne themselves.

But from the time he went forth, it seemes God did strike him with the spirit of Amazement, and brought him round againe to the place whence he first moued.

For after he had once by *Ludgate* entred into the Citie, he neuer had as much as the heart or assurance to speake any set or confident speech to the people (but repeated onely ouer and ouer his tale as he passed by, *That he should haue bene murthered*) nor to doe any act of foresight or courage: but he that had vowed hee would neuer bee cooped vp

A Declaration of the Treasons of the

more, cooped himselfe first within the wals of the Citie, and after within the wals of an house, as arrested by Gods Iustice as an example of disloyaltie. For passing through *Cheapeside*, and so towards *Smiths* house, and finding, though some came about him, yet none ioyned or armed with him, he prouoked them by speeches as he passed, to arme, telling them, *They did him hurt and no good, to come about him with no weapons.*

The confessi-
on of the
Earle of Rut-
land. The L.
Sandis.

But there was not in so populous a Citie, where he thought himselfe held so deare, one man, from the chiefeſt Citizen, to the meanest Artificer or Prentise, that armed with him: so as being extremely appalled, as diuers that happened to see him then, might visibly perceiue in his face and countenance, and almost moulten with sweate, though without any cause of bodily labour but only by the perplexitie and horror of his minde, hee came to *Smiths* house the Sherife, where he refreshed himselfe a little, and shifted him.

But the meane while it pleased God, that her Maiesties directions at Court, though in a case so strange and sudden, were iudiciall and sound. For first there was commaundement in the morning giuen vnto the Citie, that euery man should be in a readinesse both in person and armor, but yet to keepe within his owne doore, and to expect commaundement: vpon a reasonable & politique consideration, that had they armed suddenly in the streetes, if there were any ill disposed persons, they might arme on the one side and turn on the other,

or

late Earle of Essex, and his Complices.

or at least if armed men had bene seene to and fro, it would haue bred a greater tumult, and more bloodshed: and the nakednesse of *Essex* troupe would not haue so well appeared.

And soone after direction was giuen, that the Lord *Burghley*, taking with him the King of *Heralds*, should proclaime him *Traitour* in the principall parts of the Citie: which was perfourmed with good expedition and resolution, and the losse and hurt of some of his Companie. Besides that, the Earle of *Cumberland*, and Sir *Thomas Gerard* Knight Marshall, rode into the Citie, and declared and notified to the people that hee was a *Traitour*: from which time diuers of his troupe withdrawing from him, and none other coming in to him, there was nothing but despaire. For hauing stayed a while, as is sayd, at Shirife *Smiths* house, and there changing his pretext of a priuate quarell, and publishing, *That the Realme should haue bene solde to the Infanta*, the better to spurre on the people to rise, and called, and giuen commandement to haue brought armes and weapons of all sorts, and being soone after aduertised of the Proclamation, he came forth in a hurry.

The confession of the Earle of Rutl. *Essex* confession at the Barre.

So hauing made some stay in *Gracious street*, and being dismaid vpon knowledge giuen to him that forces were coming forwards against him vnder the conduct of the L. Admirall the Lieutenant of her Maiesties forces, and not knowing what course to take, he determined in the end to goe backe towards

A Declaration of the Treasons of the

wards his own house, aswel in hope to haue found the Counsellors there, and by them to haue serued some turne, as vpon trust that towards night his friends in the City would gather their spirits together, and rescue him, as himselfe declared after to M. Lieutenant of the *Tower*.

But for the Counsellors, it had pleased God to make one of the principall offenders his instrument for their deliuey: who seeing my Lords case desperate, & contriuing how to redeeme his fault, and saue himselfe, came to sir *Iohn Davis* and sir *Gillie Mericke*, as sent from my Lord: and so procured them to be released.

But the Earle of *Essex*, with his companie that was left, thinking to recouer his house, made on by land towards *Ludgate*, where being resisted by a company of Pikemen and other forces, gathered together by the wise and diligent care of the Bishop of *London*, and commanded by sir *Iohn Luson*, and yet attempting to cleere the passage, he was with no great difficultie repulsed. At which encounter sir *Christopher Blunt* was fore wounded, and yong *Tracie* slaine on his part: and one *Watts* on the *Queenes* part, and some other. Vpon which repulse he went backe and fled towards the *Waterside*, & tooke boat at *Queene hieue*, and so was receiued into *Essex house* at the *Watergate*, which he fortified and baricado'd: but instantly the Lord Lieutenant so disposed his Companies, as all passage and issue forth was cut off from him both by
land

land and by water, and all succours that hee might hope for, were discouraged : and leauing the Earle of *Cumberland*, the Earle of *Lincolne*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Burghley*, and the Lord *Compton*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, with diuers others, before the house to landward, my Lord Lieutenant himselfe thought good, taking with him the Lord of *Effingham*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Iohn Stanhope*, Sir *Robert Sidney*, M. *Foulk Grenill*, with diuers others, to assaile the Garden and Banketting house on the Water side, and presently forced the Garden, and woon to the wals of the house, and was ready to haue assailed the house : but out of a Christian and honorable consideration, vnderstanding that there were in the house the Countesse of *Essex*, and the Ladie *Rich*, with their Gentlewomen, let the Earle of *Essex* know by Sir *Robert Sidney*, that hee was content to suffer the Ladies and gentlewomen to come forth. Whereupon *Essex* returning the Lord Lieutenant thanks for the compassion and care he had of the Ladies, desired onely to haue an houres respite to make way for their going out, and an houre after to barricado the place againe. Which because it could make no alteration to the hinderance of the seruice, the L. Lieutenant thought good to grant. But *Essex* hauing had some talke within of a fallie, and despairing of the successe, and thinking better to yeeld himselfe, sent word, that vpon some conditions he would yeeld.

But the L. Lieutenant viterly refusing to heare
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of

A Declaration of the Treasons of the

of capitulations, *Essex* desired to speake with my Lord, who thereupon went vp close to the house : and the late Earles of *Essex* and *Southampton*, with diuers other Lords and Gentlemen their partakers, presented themselues vpon the leades : and *Essex* sayd, hee would not capitulate, but intreat, and made three petitions. The first, *That they might be ciuilly vsed*: Whereof the Lord Lieutenant assured them. The second, *That they might haue an honorable triall*: Whereof the Lord Lieutenant answered, they needed not to doubt. The third, *That he might haue Ashton a Preacher with him in prison for the comfort of his soule*: Which the Lord Lieutenant said he would mooue to her Maiesty, not doubting of the matter of his request, though he could not absolutely promise him that person. Whereupon they all with the ceremony amongst marshall men accustomed, came downe & submitted themselues and yeelded vp their swords, which was about ten of the clocke at night, there hauing beene slaine in holding of the house, by musket shot, *Owen Salisbury*, and some few more on the part of my Lord, and some fewe likewise slaine and hurt on the Queenes part, and presently, aswell the Lordes as the rest of their confederates of quality were seuerally taken into the charge of diuers particular Lords and Gentlemen, and by them conueyed to the *Tower* and other prisons.

So as this action, so dangerous in respect of the person of the Leader, the maner of the combination, and the intent of the plot, brake forth and
ended

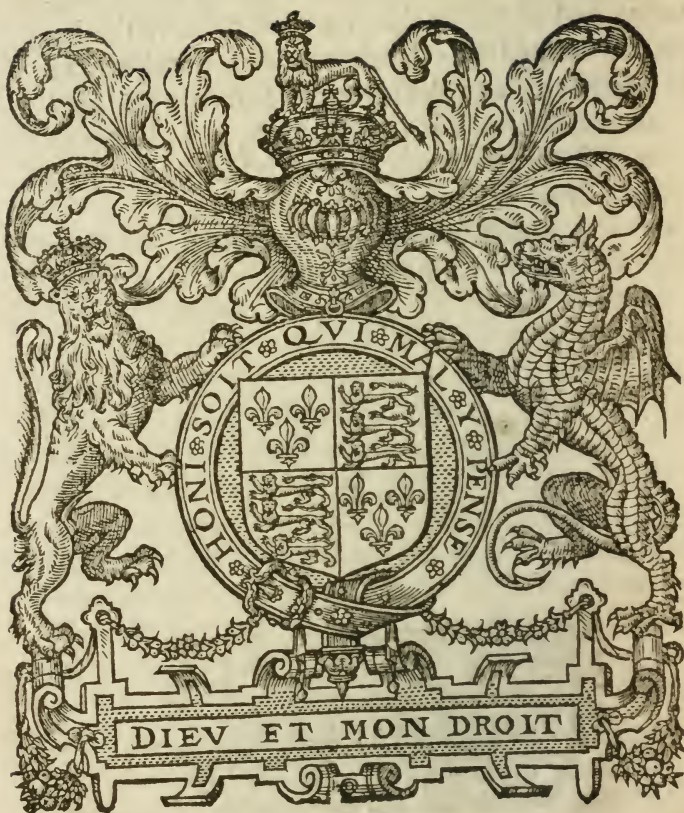
late Earle of Essex, and his Complices.

ended within the compasse of twelue houres, and
with the losse of little blood, and in such sort as the
next day all Courts of Iustice were open, and did
sit in their accustomed maner, giuing good Sub-
iects, and all reasonable men iust cause to thinke,
not the lesse of the offenders treason, but the more
of her Maiesties princely magnanimitie and pru-
dent foresight in so great a perill, and chiefly
of Gods goodnesse, that hath blessed her
Maiesty in this, as in many things
else, with so rare and di-
uine felicitie.



G 2







THE EFFECT OF

the Euidence giuen, at the seuerall

Arraignments of the late Earls of

Essex and *Southampton*, before

the L. STEVVARD;

And of Sir *Christopher Blunt* and

Sir *Charles Dauers*, and others, be-

fore great and Honourable Com-

missioners of Oyer and

Deserminer.

And of the Answeres and Defenses,

which the said Offendors made for them-

selues; And the Replies made vpon

such their Defenses:

With some other Circumstances of the

proceedings, as well at the same

Arraignments as after.

THE two late Earles of *Essex* and *Southampton*, were brought to their triall, the nineteenth of Februarie, eleuen dayes after the Rebellion. At which trial there passed vpon them 25. Peeres, a greater number then hath bene called in any former president. Amongst whom her Ma-iestie did not forbear to vse many that were of neere alliance and blood to the Earle of *Essex*, and some others, that had their sonnes and heires apparant that were of his Company, and followed him

Some questi-
on was made
by the earle of
Essex, whether
he might cha-
lenge any of
the Peeres. But
answere was
made by the
Iudges, that
the law had
that reputati-
on of the Peeres,
that it trusted
them both
without othe
and challenge.

him in the open Actiō of Rebellion. The Lord Steward then in Commission, (according to the solemnitie in such Trials received) was the Lord *Buckhurst*, L. high Treasurer, who with gravity and temperance directed the Evidēce, and moderated, and gaue the Iudgement. There was also an Assistance of eight Iudges, the three chiefe, & five others. The hearing was with great patience and libertie: the ordinary course not being held, to silence the Prisoners, till the whole state of the Evidēce was giuen in: but they being suffered to answer articulately, to euery branch of the Evidēce, and sometimes to euery particular deposition, whensoever they offered to speake. And not so onely, but they were often spared to bee interrupted, euen in their digressions, and speeches not much pertinent to their cause. And alwayes when any doubt in Law was moued, or when it was required either by the Prisoners or the Peeres, the Lord Steward required the Iudges to deliuer the Law; who gaue their opinions seuerally, not barely, yea or no, but at large with their reasons.

In the Endictment were not layed or charged the treasons of *Ireland*, because the greatest matter, which was the desseigne to bring ouer the Army of *Ireland*, being then not confessed nor known, it was not thought conuenient to stuffe the Enditement with matters, which might haue bene conceiued to be chiefly gathered by curious inquisition, & grounded vpon report, or presumptiō, when there was other matter so notorious. And besides,
it

Arraignments, and after.

it was not vnlikely, that in his case, to whom many were so partiall, some (who would not consider how things came to light by degrees) might have reported, that hee was twise called in Question about one offence. And therefore the late Treasons of his Rebellion and conspiracie, were onely comprehended in the Enditement, with the vsuall clauses and consequents in Lawe, of compassing the Queenes death, destruction, and deprivation, and leuying warre, and the like.

In regard of the hearing, which his cause had at Yorke house, concerning his contempts and misgouernance in Ireland: where it was forborne by special direction, to lay disloyaltie to his charge.

The Euidence consisted of two parts:

The plot of surprising her MAIESTIES Person in Court, and, The open Rebellion in the Citie.

The plot was opened according to the former narration, and proued by the seuerall confessions of foure witnesses, fully and directly concurring in the point: Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Charles Dauers*, Sir *Iohn Dauies*, and Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*. Of which number, though Sir *Christopher Blunt* were not at the Councell helde at *Drury house*, no more then *Essex* himselfe was: yet, hee was priuie to that which passed. Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* being prisoner in the *Gatehouse*, neere the place of triall, was (at the request of the Earle of *Essex*) brought thither, and auouched *Via voce* his confession in all things.

And these foure prooued all particularities of surprizing the Court; and the maner of putting the

The Proceedings at the

the same in execution, and the distributing and naming of the principall persons and actors, to their severall charges: and the calling of my Lords pretended enemies to trial for their liues, and the summoning of a Parliament, and the altering of the gouernement. And Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and Sir *Iohn Davies*, from Sir *Christopher Blunt*, did speake to the point of bringing in a toleration of the Catholike religion.

For the ouert Rebellion in the Citie it selfe, it was likewise opened, according to the former narration, and diuided it selfe naturally into 3. parts.

First, the imprisonment of the Counsellours, bringing her Maiesties Royall commaundement to them, vpon their allegiance, to disperse their Forces. Secondly, the entring the Citie, and the stirring of the people to rise, as well by prouoking them to arme, as by giuing forth the slanders, that the Realme was solde to the *Spaniard*, and the assailing of the *QUEENES* Forces at *Ludgate*. And thirdly, the resistance and keeping of the house against her *MAIESTIES* Forces, vnder the charge and conduct of the Lord Lieutenant.

And albeit these parts were matters notorious, and within almost euery mans viewe and knowledge: yet, for the better satisfaction of the Peeres, they were fully prooued by the oath of the Lord Chiefe Iustice of England, being there present, *Vina voce*, and the Declaration of the Earle of Worcester,

Worcester, being one of the Peeres likewise, *Viva voce*, touching so much as passed about the imprisonment of themselves and the rest: and by the confessions of the Earle of *Rutland*, the Lorde *Sands*, the Lord *Cromwell*, and others.

The defence of the late Earle of *Essex*, touching the plot & consultation at *Drury house*, was: *That it was not proved, that he was at it: And that they could shew nothing proving his consent or priuity, vnder his hād.*

Touching the action in the Citie, hee iustified the pretext of the danger of his life to be a trueth. He said, that his speech that the Realme should haue bene sold to the *Infanta* of *Spaine*, was grounded vpon a report he had heard, that Sir *Robert Cecill* should say priuately, *That the Infantaes title to the Crowne (after her Maiestie) was as good as any other.* He excused the imprisonment of the Counsellors, to haue bene against his mind, forced vpon him by his vn-ruly company. He protested he neuer intended in his heart, any hurt to her Maiesties person: That he did desire to secure his accessse to her, for which purpose he thought to pray the helpe of the Citie, and that he did not arme his men in warlike sort, nor strooke vp no Drumme, nor the like.

The defence of the late Earle of *Southampton* to his part in the plot, and consultation at *Drury house*, was: *That it was a matter debated, but not resolved nor concluded; and that the action which was executed, was not the action which was consulted vpon.* And for the open action in the citie, hee concurred with *Essex*, with protestation of the cleerenesse of his minde for

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any hurt to the Queenes person: And that it was but his affection to my Lord of Essex, that had drawen him into the cause. This was the substance & best of both their defences. Vnto which the Reply was.

DEFENCE.

To the point that the late Earle of Essex was not at the consultation at Drury house.

REPLY.

It was replied, that it was proued by all the witnesses, that that consultation was held by his speciall appointment and direction, and that both the list of the names, and the principall Articles, were of his owne hand writing. And whereas he saide, they could not be shewed extant vnder his hand: it was prooued by the confession of my Lorde of *Rutland*, and the Lord *Sands*, that he had prouided for that himselfe. For, after he returned out of the Citie to his owne house, he burned diuers papers which he had in a Cabanet, because (as himselfe said) they should tell no tales.

DEFENCE.

To the point which Southampton alleaged, That the Consultation at Drury house, vpon the list and articles in writing, was not executed.

REPLY.

It was replied, that both that Consultation in that manner held, if none other act had followed, was treason: And that the Rebellion following in the citie, was not a desisting from the other plot,
but

Arraignments, and after.

but an inducement and pursuance of it: their meaning being plaine on all parts, that, after they had gotten the aide of the citie, they would haue gone and possessed the Court.

DEFENCE.

To the point, that it was a truth, that Essex should haue bene assailed by his priuate enemies.

REPLY.

First, he was required to deliuer, who it was that gaue him the aduertisement of it, because otherwise it must light vpon himselfe, & be thought his owne inuention: whereunto he sayd, that hee would name no man that day.

Then it was shewed how improbable it was, considering that my Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* were men, whose estates were better settled and establihed, then to ouerthrow their fortunes by such a crime.

Besides, it was shewed howe the tale did not hang together, but varied in it selfe, as the tale of the two Iudges did, when one said, Vnder the Mulbery-tree, and another said, Vnder the Figge-tree. So, sometimes it was, That he should haue beene murdered in his bed, and sometimes vpon the water, and sometimes it should haue bene performed by Iesuits, some dayes before.

Thirdly, it was asked what reference the going into the citie for succour against any his priuate enemies, had to the imprisoning of the L. Keeper, and the L. Chiefe Iustice, persons that he pretended

The Confessions and other Euidence.

ded to loue and respect; and the Earle of *Worcester* his kinsman, and Master Controller his Vncle, and the publishing to the people, that the Realme should haue bene sold to the Spaniard.

And lastly, it was sayd, that these were the ancient footsteps of former Traitours, to make their quarrell as against their priuate enemies: because, God vnto lawfull kings did euer impart such beams of his owne glory, as Traytours could not looke straight vpon them, but euer turned their pretences against some about them. And that this Action of his, resembled the Action of *Pisistratus* of *Athens*, that proceeded so farre in this kinde of fiction and dissimulation, as he launced his owne bodie, and came hurt and wounded before the people, as hauing bene assailed by his priuate enemies, and by colour thereof obtained a guard about his person, by helpe of whom, he after vsurped vpon the State.

DEFENCE.

To the point that he heard it reported, M. Secretary should say: *That the Infantes title to the Crowne (after her Maiesty) was as good as any other.*

REPLY.

Vpon this his allegation, M. Secretary standing out of sight in a priuate place, onely to heare, (being much moued with so false and foule an accusation) came suddenly forth, and made humble request to the Lord Steward, that hee might haue
the

Arraignments, and after:

the fauour to answere for himselfe. Which being granted him, in respect of the place he carieth, (after a bitter contestation on his part with the Earle, and a serious protestation of his alienation of heart from the Spanish nation, in any such condition) he still vrged the Earle to name the reporter, that all the circumstances might be knowen. But the Earle still warily auoiding it, M. Secretary replied, that seeing he would alledge no Author, it ought to be reputed his owne fiction. Whereupon the Earle of *Essex* said, though his owne conscience was a sufficient testimony to himselfe, that he had not inuented any vntruth, yet hee would affirme thus much for the worlds farther satisfaction in that behalfe: that the Earle of *Southampton* also, had heard so much reported of M. Secretary: but sayd still, that he (for his part) would name nobody. Whereupon M. Secretary adiured the Earle of *Southampton*, by all former friendship, (which had beene in deed very great betweene them) that he would declare the person: which he did presently, and sayd it was M. Comptroller. At which speech M. Secretary straight tooke holde, and said, That he was glad to heare him named of all others: for howsoeuer some malicious person, might peraduenture haue bene content, to giue credit to so iniurious a conceit of him, (especially such as were against the peace wherein hee was imployed, and for which the Earle of *Essex* had euer hated him, being euer desirous to keepe an army on his owne dependency) yet he did thinke no man of any vnderstanding

The Proceedings at the

would beleue that he could be so sencelesse, as to picke out the Earle of *Essex* his vncke, to lay open to him his affection to that nation, in a matter of so odious & pernicious consequence: And so did very humbly craue it at the hands of the Lord Steward, and all the Peeres, that M. Comptroller might be sent for, to make good his accusation.

Thereupon the Lord Steward sent a Seriant at Armes for M. Comptroller, who presently came thither, and did freely and sincerely deliuer, that he had only said (though hee knew not wel to whom) that M. Secretary and he, walking in the garden at Court one morning about two yeeres since, and talking casually of forreine things, M. Secretary told him, that one *Doleman* had mainteined in a booke (not long since printed) that the *Infanta* of *Spaine* had a good title to the Crowne of *England*, which was all, as M. Comptroller said, that euer he heard M. Secretary speake of that matter. And so the weake foundation of that scandall being quickly discerned, that matter ended: all that could be proued, being no other, then that M. Comptroller had told an other, who had after told the Earle of *Essex*, that M. Secretary sayde to him, that such a booke saide so, which euery man could say, that hath read it, and no man better knewe then the Earle himselfe, to whom it was dedicated.

DEFENCE.

To the point of both their protestations, That they intended no hurt to her Maiesties person.

REPLY.

R E P L Y.

First, the Iudges deliuered their opinions for matter in Law vpon two points: The one, *That in case where a subiect attempteth to put himselfe into such strength as the King shall not be able to resist him, and to force and compell the King to gouerne otherwise then according to his owne Royall authoritie and direction, it is manifest Rebellion*: The other, *That in euery Rebellion the lawe intendeth as a consequent, the compassing the death and deprivation of the King, as foreseeing that the Rebells wil neuer suffer that King to liue or raigne, which might punish or take reuenge of his Treason and Rebellion*. And it was inforced by the Queenes Councell, that this is not onely the wisdom of the lawes of the Realme which so defineth of it, but it is also the censure of forein lawes, the conclusion of common reason which is the ground of all lawes, and the demonstratiue assertion of experience, which is the warrant of all reason. For first the Ciuile law maketh this iudgement, That Treason is nothing els but *Crimen lese maiestatis*, or *Diminutio maiestatis*, making euery offence which abridgeth or hurteth the power and authoritie of the Prince, as an insult or inuading of the Crowne, and extorting the imperiall Scepter. And for common reason, it is not possible that a subiect should once come to that height as to giue law to his Soueraigne, but what with insolency of the change, and what with terror of his owne guiltinesse, he will neuer permit the King, if he can chuse, to recouer authoritie, nor for
doubt

The Proceedings at the

doubt of that, to continue aliue. And lastly for experience, it is confirmed by all stories and examples, That the subiect neuer obtained a superioritie and command ouer the King, but there followed soone after, the deposing and putting of the King to death, as appeareth in our owne Chronicles in two notable particulars of two vntfortunate Kings: the one of *Edward* the second, who when he kept himselfe close for danger, was summoned by Proclamation to come and take vpon him the gouernment of the Realme: but as soone as he presented himselfe, was made prisoner, and soone after forced to resigne, and in the ende tragically murdered in *Barkley Castle*. And the other of King *Richard* the second, who though the Duke of *Hertford*, after, King *Henrie* the fourth, presented himselfe before him with three humble reuerences, yet in the ende was deposed and put to death.

DEFENCE.

To the point of not arming his men otherwise, then with Pistols, Rapiers and Daggers, it was replied.

REPLY.

That that course was held vpon cunning, the better to insinuate himselfe into the fauour of the city, as comming like a friend with an *All haile*, or kisse, and not as an enemy, making full reckoning that the City would arme him, and arme with him, and that he tooke the paterne of his Action, from the
day

day of the *Barricadoes at Paris*, where the Duke of *Gwyse* entring the citie but with eight Gentlemen, preuailing with the citie of *Paris* to take his part, as my Lord of *Essex* (thankes be to God) failed of the Citie of *London*, made the King (whom he thought likewise to haue surprized) to forsake the towne, and withdraw himselfe into other places, for his further safety. And it was also vrged against him out of the confession of the Earle of *Ruiland* and others, that he cried out to the citizens, *That they did him hurt and no good, to come without weapons*, and prouoked them to arme: and finding they would not be mooued to arme with him, sought to arme his owne troupes.

This, point by point, was the effect of the Replie. Vpon all which Euidence both the Earles were found guiltie of Treason by all the seuerall voices of euery one of the Peeres; and so receiued iudgement.

I

The

The names of the Peeres that passed vpon the triall of the two Earles.

E A R L E S.

B A R O N S.

The Earle of	{	Oxford.	The Lord	{	De la Ware.
		Shrewesburie.			Morley.
		Darbie.			Cobham.
		Cumberland.			Stafford.
		Worcester.			Gray.
		Suffex.			Lumley.
		Hartford.			Windsore.
		Lincolne.			Rich.
Vicount	{	Nothingham.		{	Darcy de Chichey.
					Chandoys.
					Hunsdon.
				S. Iohn de Bletse.	
				Compton.	
				Burghley.	
				Howard of Walden.	

The names of the Iudges that assisted the Court.

The Lord chiefe Iustice.	Iustice Gawdie.
The L. chiefe Iustice of the Common Plees.	Iustice Fenner.
	Iustice Walmesley.
	Baron Clerke.
The Lord chiefe Baron.	Iustice Kingsmill.

SOME

SOME PARTICVLARITIES
of that which passed after the arreign-
ment of the late Earles, and at the time
of the suffering of the Earle
of *Essex*.

BVt the Earle of *Essex* finding that the consultation at *Drurie house*, and the secret plots of his premeditated and prepenched treasons were come to light, contrary to his expectation, was touched euen at his parting from the Barre with a kinde of remorse: especially because he had caried the maner of his answere, rather in a spirit of ostentation and glory, then with humilitie and penitence: and brake out in the Hall, while the Lords were in conference, into these wordes: *That seeing things were thus caried, he woulde ere it be long say more then yet was known.* Which good motion of his minde being after his comming backe to the Tower, first cherished by M. D. of *Norwich*, but after wrought on by the religious and effectuall perswasions and exhortations of M. *Abdie Ashton* his Chaplaine, the man whom he made sute by name to haue with him for his soules health, as one that of late time he had beene most vsed vnto, and found most comfort of, comparing it, when he made the request, to the case of a Patient, that in his extremity would be desirous to haue that Physician that was best acquainted with his body: Hee sent word the next day to desire to speake with some of the

principall Councillours, with whom he desired also that particularly M. Secretary might come for one. Vpon which his request, first the L. Admirall, and M. Secretary, and afterward at two seuerall times the Lord keeper of the great Seale, the Lord high Treasurer, the L. high Admirall, and Master Secretary repaired vnto him: before whom, after he had asked the Lord Keeper forgiuennesse for restraining him in his house, and M. Secretary, for hauing wronged him at the Barre, concerning the matter of the *Infanta*, with signification of his earnest desire to be reconciled to them, which was accepted with all Christian charitie and humanitie, he proceeded to accuse heauily most of his confederates for carying malicious mindes to the State, and vehemently charged *Cuffe* his man to his own face, to haue bene a principall instigator of him in his Treasons, and then disclosed how farre sir *Henry Neuill* her Maiesties late Ambassador was priuy to all the Conspiracie: of whose name till then, there had bene not so much as any suspition. And further, at the Lords first comming to him, (not sticking to confesse that hee knewe her Maiestie could not be safe while he liued) did very earnestly desire this fauour of the Queene, that he might die as priuately as might be.

The testimony of the 3. Diuines vnder their hands.

And the Morning before his execution, there being sent vnto him for his better preparation, Master Doctor *Mountford*, and master Doctor *Barlowe* to ioyne with Master *Abdie Ashton* his Chapleine, he did in many words thanke God that he had

had giuen him a deeper insight into his offence, being forie he had so stood vpon his iustification at his Arraignement: since which time, he sayd he was become a new man, and heartily thanked God also that his Course was by Gods prouidence preuented. For, if his proiect had taken effect, God knoweth (sayd he) what harme it had wrought in the Realme.

He did also humbly thanke her Maiestie, that he should die in so priuate maner (for he suffered in the Towre yard, and not vpon the Hill by his owne special sure) lest the acclamation of the people (for those were his own words) might be a temptation to him: adding, That al popularitie & trust in man was vaine, the experience whereof himselfe had felt: and acknowledged further vnto them, that he was iustly and worthily spewed out (for that was also his owne word) of the Realme, and that the nature of his offence was like a leprosie that had infected farre and neere. And so likewise at the publique place of his suffering, he did vse vehement detestation of his offence, desiring God to forgiue him his great, his bloody, his crying, and his infectious sinne: and so died very penitently, but yet with great conflict (as it should seeme) for his sins. For hee neuer mentioned nor remembred there, wife, children or friend, nor tooke particular leaue of any that were present, but wholly abstracted and sequestred himselfe to the state of his conscience, and prayer.

THE EFFECT OF THAT which passed at the Arraignments of

Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Charles Dauers,

*Sir Iohn Davies, Sir Gillie Mericke,
and Henry Cusse.*

THE 5. of *March* by a very honorable Commission of *Oier and Determiner*, directed to the Lord high Admiral, the Lord Chamberlaine, Master Secretary, the Lord chiefe Iustice of England, Master Chancellour of the Exchequer, Master Secretary *Herbert*, with diuers of the Iudges, the Commissioners sitting in the Court of the *Queenes Bench*, there were arraigned and tried by a Iury both of Aldermen of London, and other Gentlemen of good credit and sort, *Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Charles Dauers, Sir Iohn Davies, Sir Gillie Mericke & Henry Cusse.* The three first whereof, before they pleaded, asked this question of the Iudges, *Whether they might not confesse the Inditemēt in part; & plead Not guilty to it in the other part.* But being resolved by the Iudges, that their pleading must be generall; they pleaded Not guilty, as did likewise the other two, without any such question asked. The reason of that question was, as they confessed, in respect of the clause laid in the Inditement: *That they intended and compassed the death and destruction of the Queenes Maiestie: vn-* to whose person (although they confessed at the barre,

barre, as they had done in their examinations, that their meaning was to come to her in such strength, as they should not be resisted, and to require of her diuers conditions and alterations of gouernement, such as in their confessions are expresse) neuerthelesse they protested, they intended no personall harme to hir selfe. Whereupon (as at the arraignment of the two Earles) so then againe the Iudges deliuered the rule of the Lawe; that the wisdom and foresight of the Lawes of this land maketh this iudgement, *That the Subiect that rebelleth or riseth in forcible maner to ouerrule the Royall will and power of the King, intendeth to deprive the King both of crowne and life: and that the Law iudgeth not of the fact by the intent, but of the intent by the fact.* And the Queenes Councell did againe inforce that point, setting forth that it was no mystery or quidditie of the common Lawe, but it was a conclusion infallible of reason and experience: for that the Crowne was not a Ceremony or Garland, but consisted of preeminence and power.

And therefore, when the subiect will take vpon him to giue law to the King, and to make the power Soueraigne and commanding, to become subiect and commanded: such subiect layeth hold of the Crowne, and taketh the sword out of the Kings hands. And that the Crowne was fastened so close vpon the Kings head, that it cannot be pulled off, but that head and life, and all will follow, as all examples, both in forreine stories and here at home doe make manifest. And therefore, when their
words

words did protest one thing, and their deeds did testifie another; they were but like the president of the protestation vsed by *Manlius* the Lieutenant of *Catiline*, that conspired against the State of Rome, who beganne his letter to the Senate with these words, *Deos homines q̄, testor, Patres conscripti, nos nihil aliud &c.* ♦

And it was saide further, that admitting their protestations were so farre true, that they had not at that time in their mindes a formed and distinct cogitation to haue destroyed the Queenes person: yet nothing was more variable and mutable then the mind of man, and specially *Honores mutant mores*: when they were once aloft, & had the Queene in their handes, and were Peeres in my Lorde of *Essex* his Parliament, who could promise of what minde they would then be? especially, when my L. of *Essex* at his Arraignment had made defence of his first Action of imprisoning the priuie Councellours, by pretence that he was inforced to it by his vnruely companie. So that if themselues should not haue had, or would not seeme to haue had that extreme and diuelish wickednesse of mind, as to lay violent handes vpon the Queenes sacred person: yet, what must be done to satisfie the multitude, and secure their partie, must be then the question. Wherein the example was remembred of *Richard* the third, who (though he were king in possession, and the rightfull Inheritours but Infants) could neuer sleepe quiet in his bed, till they were made away. Much lesse would a Catilinary knot and combination

combination of Rebels (that did rise without so much as the fume of a Title) euer indure, that a Queene that had bene their Soueraigne, and had reigned so many yeeres in such renowne and policie, should be longer alieue, then made for their own turne. And much speech was vsed to the same end. So that in the end, all those three at the barre said, That now they were infourmed, and that they descended into a deeper consideration of the matter, they were sorie they had not confessed the Indictment. And Sir *Christopher Blunt*, at the time of his suffering, discharged his conscience in plain terms, and sayd publicquely before all the people, that he sawe plainely with himselfe, That if they could not haue obtained all that they had would, they must haue drawn blood, euen from the Queene herselfe.

The confession of Blunt at his death, which is set downe in the ende.

The Euidence giuen in against them three, was principally their owne confessions, charging euery one himselfe, and the other, and the rest of the euidence vsed at the Arraignment of the late Earles, and mentioned before: saue that because it was perceiued, that that part of the charge would take no labour nor time, being plaine matter and confessed, and because some touch had bene giuen in the Proclamation of the Treasons of *Ireland*: And chiefly because Sir *Christopher Blunt* was Marshall of the Army in *Ireland*, and most inward with my Lord in all his proceedings there: and not so sodely, but further in the confession of *Thomas Lee*,

it was precisely contained, *That hee knew the Earle of Essex and Tyrone, and Blunt the Marshall, to be all one, and to runne one course*: it was thought fit to open some part of the Treasons of Ireland, such as were then knowen. Which very happily gaue the occasion for *Blunt*, to make that discouery of the purpose to haue inuaded the Realme with the Armie of Ireland: which hee then offered, and afterwards vttered, and in the end sealed with his blood, as is hereafter set downe.

Against *Cusfe* was giuen in Euidence, both Sir *Charles Dauers* confession, who charged him when there was any debating of the seuerall enterprises which they should vndertake, that he did euer bind firmly, and resolutely for the Court: and the accusation vnder the Earles hand, auouched by him to his face, that hee was a principall instigator of him in his Treasons: but especially a full declaration of Sir *Henry Neuils*, which describeth and planteth forth the whole maner of his practising with him.

The fellow, after he had made some introduction by an artificiall and continued speech, and some time spent in sophisticall arguments, descended to these two answeres: the one, *For his being within Essex house that day, the day of the Rebellion, they might as well charge a Lion within a grate with Treason, as him: And for the consultation at Drury house, it was no more Treason then the childe in the mothers bellie is a childe.* But it was replied, that for his being in the house, it was not compulsarie, and that
there

there was a distribution in the action, of some to make good the house, and some to enter the citie, and the one part held correspondent to the other, and that in Treasons there were no accessaries, but all principals.

And for the consultation at *Drurie house*, it was a perfect Treason in it selfe, because the compassing of the Kings destruction, which by iudgement of Law was concluded and implied in that consultation, was Treason, in the very thought and cogitation, so as that thought be prooued by an ouert Acte: And that the same consultation and debating thereupon, was an ouert Act, though it had not bene vpon a list of names, and articles in writing, much more, being vpon matter in writing.

And againe, the going into the Citie was a pursuance and inducement of the enterprize to possesse the Court, and not a desisting, or departure from it.

And lastly, it was ruled by the Iudges for law, *That if many do conspire to execute Treason against the Prince in one maner, and some of them doe execute it in another maner, yet their Act (though differing in the maner) is the Act of all them that conspire, by reason of the generall malice of the intent.*

Against Sir *Gilly Merrick*, the Euidence that was giuen, charged him chiefly with the matter of the open Rebellion, that hee was as Captaine or commander ouer the house, and tooke vpon him

The Proceedings at the

charge to keepe it, and make it good as a place of Retraict for those which issued into the Citie, and fortifying and barricadoing the same house, and making prouision of Muskets, Powder, Pellets and other munition and weapons for the holding and defending of it, and as a busie, forward, and noted Actor in that defence and resistance, which was made against the Queenes forces brought against it, by her Maiesties Lieutenant.

And further to prooue him priuie to the plot, it was giuen in Euidence, that some fewe dayes before the Rebellion, with great heat and violence hee had displaced certaine Gentlemen lodged in an house fast by *Essex house*, and there planted diuers of my Lords followers and Complices, all such as went foorth with him in the Action of Rebellion.

That the afternoone before the Rebellion, *Merrick*, with a great company of others, that afterwards were all in the Action, had procured to bee played before them, the Play of deposing King *Richard* the second.

Neither was it casuall, but a Play bespoken by *Merrick*.

And not so onely, but when it was told him by one of the Players, that the Play was olde, and they should haue losse in playing it, because fewe would come to it: there was fourty shillings extraordinary giuen to play it, and so thereupon playd it was.

So

Arraignments, and after.


So earnest hee was to satisfie his eyes with the sight of that Tragedie, which hee thought soone after his Lord should bring from the Stage to the State, but that GOD turned it vpon their owne heads.

¶ *The speeches of Sir Christopher Blunt at his execution, are set downe as neere as they could be remembred, after the rest of the confessions and euidences.*

K 3







H E E R E F O L L O W

the voluntary Confessions them-
selues, such as were giuen in euidence at
both the seuerall arraignments, taken
forth, word for word, out of the
Originals.

Whereby it may appeare how
God brought matters to light, at seuerall
times, and in seuerall parts, all
concurring in substance.

And with them, other Declarations and
parts of the euidence.

¶ The Confession of *Thomas Lee*,
taken the 14. of February 1600, before
Sir *Ioh. Peyton* Lieutenant of the Tower, *Roger*
Wilbraham Master of the Requests, Sir *An-*
thony Saintleger Master of the Rolles in
Ireland, and *Thomas Fleming* her
Maiesties Solicitour
generall.

 His examine saith that *Tyrone* sent a mes-
sage to this Examine by *James Knowd*
(whom this Examine by the Marshals
warrant

The Confessions and other Euidence.

warrant in writing had sent to *Tyrone*, before himselfe went to *Tyrone* that if the Earle of *Essex* would follow his plot, he would make him the greatest man that euer was in *England*, and that when *Essex* and *Tyrone* should haue conference together, for his assurance vnto the Earle of *Essex*, *Tyrone* would deliuer his eldest sonne in pledge to the Earle. And with this message this Examine made the Earle of *Essex* acquainted, before his comming to this Examinats house, at that time when this Examine was sent to *Tyrone*.

This Examine sayeth, he knew that *Essex*, *Tyrone*, and the Marshall Sir *Christopher Blunt*, were all one, and held all one course.

Thomas Lee.

Exam. per Ioh. Peyton,

Roger Wilbraham,

Anthony Saintleger,

Thomas Fleming.

The

¶ The Declaration of Sir *William*

Warren, 3. Octobris.

1599.

THE said Sir *William* came to *Armagh* the last Friday, being the 28. of September: from thence hee sent a messenger in the night to *Tyrone*, to *Dungannon*, signifying his comming to *Armagh*, as aforesaid, and that the next morning hee would meete *Tyrone* at the Fort of *Blackwater*: where accordingly the said *Tyrone* met with him, and after other speeches, by further discourse the said *Tyrone* told the saide Sir *William*, and deliuered it with an oath, that within these two moneths hee should see the greatest alteration, and the strangest, that hee the saide Sir *William* could imagine, or euer saw in his life: and said that he hoped before it were long, that he the said *Tyrone* should haue a good share in *England*. Which speeches of the alteration, *Tyrone* reiterated two or three seuerall times.

The Earle of
Essex came
the same day
to the Court
in England.

William Warren.

Certified from the Councill of
Ireland to the Lords of the
Councill here.

L

¶ The

¶ The declaration of *Thomas Wood*
20. Ianuarij, 1599. taken before the L.
Buckhurst L. high Treasurer, the Earle of *Not-*
tingham L. high Admirall, Sir *Ro. Cecill* prin-
cipal Secretary, and Sir *I. Fortescue* Chan-
cellour of the Exchequer.

THE said *Wood* saith, that happening to be with
the L. *Fitzmorris* Baron of *Licksnaw*, at his
house of *Licksnaw*, betweene Michaelmas and Al-
hallowtide last, the saide Baron walking abroad
with the saide *Wood*, asked of him what force the
Earle of *Essex* was of in *England*. Hee answered, he
could not tell, but said he was well beloued of the
Comminaltie. Then said the Baron, that the Earle
was gone for *England*, and had discharged many of
the Companies of *Ireland*, and that it was agreed
that he should be King of *England*, and *Onele* to be
Viceroy of *Ireland*, and whensoever hee should
haue occasion, and would sende for them, *Onele*
should sende him 8000. men out of *Ireland*. The
said *Wood* asked the Baron, how he knew that? He
answered, that the Earle of * *Desmond* had written
to him so much.

Thomas Wood.

Confessed in the presence of
Tho. Buckhurst, *Notingham*,
Rob. Cecill, *Io. Fortescue*.

¶ The

The titular
Earle that is
in rebellion.

¶ The Confession of *James Knowd*,
taken the 16. of February, 1600. before
Sir *Anth. Saintleger* Master of the Roules
in Ireland, and *Roger Wilbraham* Master
of the Requests.

OWney *mac Rory* having secret intelligence of the friendship betweene the Earle of *Essex* and *Tyrone*, wrote to *Tyrone*, desiring him to certifie him thereof, whereby he might frame his course accordingly, and not doe any thing contrary to their agreement: which letter my selfe did write by *Ownes* appointment (for then I was in credite with him.) In which letter he also desired *Tyrone* to send him some munition. The letter, with instructions to that effect, was in my presence deliuered to one *Turlagh mac Dauid o Kelly*, a man of secrecy, sufficiencie, and trust with *Ownes*, and he caried it to *Tyrone*. Before whose returne, *Ownes* grew suspicious of me, because I sometimes belonged to *M. Bowen*, and therefore they would not trust me, so as I could not see the answer: but yet I heard by many of their secret counsell, that the effect thereof was, *That the Earle of Essex should be king of England, and Tyrone of Ireland.*

Afterwards I met with *Turlagh mac Dauid*, the messenger aforesayd, and asked him whether hee brought an answer of the letter from *Tyrone*. He

The Confessions and other Euidence.

sayd he did, and deliuered it to *Owney*. And then I asked him what he thought of the warres. He told me he had good hope the last yeere, and had none this yeere: his reason was (as he said) that the Earle of *Essex* was to take their part, and they should aid him towards the conquest of *England*: and nowe they were hindred thereof by meanes of his apprehension.

I dwelling with the Tanist of the Countrey (my mothers coufing germain) heard him speake sundry times, *That nowe the Earle of Essex had gotten one of the swords, he would neuer forgoe his gouernement, untill hee became King of England: which was neere at hand.*

I saw a letter which the Earle of *Essex* writ to *Owney*, to this effect, *That if Owney came to him, he would speake with him about that, which if hee would follow, should be happy for him and his Countrey.*

James Knowd.

Exam.per Anthony Saintleger,

Roger Wilbraham.

¶ The

¶ The declaration of *Dauid Hethrington*, an ancient Captaine and serui-
tor in *Ireland*, 6. January 1599. Taken before the L.
Euckhurst L. high Treasurer, the Earle of *Notingham* L.
high Admirall, Sir *Robert Cecil* principall Secretary,
and Sir *Iohn Fortescue* Chancellour of
the Exchequer.

HE the sayd *Dauid Hethrington* riding into the
Hedge of the Countie of *Kildare*, about the end
of the first cession, fortun'd to meete with one
James Occurren, one of the horse-men of Master
Bowen prouost Marshall of *Lemister*, who told him
that the sayd *James Occurren* meeting lately with a
principall follower of *Owneymac Rory*, chiefe of the
Moors, *Owneys* man asked him what newes hee
heard of the Earle of *Essex*. To which *James Occur-*
ren answered, that he was gone for *England*: where-
unto he sayd, Nay, if you can tell me no newes, I
can tell you some: The Earle of *Essex* is now in
trouble for vs, for that he would doe no seruice vp-
on vs, which he neuer meant to doe, for he is ours,
and we are his.

Dauid Hethrington.

Confessed in the presence of
Tho Buckhurst. *Notingham.*
Rob. Cecil. *Io. Fortescue.*

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
FROM THE FOUNDATION
TO THE PRESENT
BY JOHN STOW.
1618.

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FROM THE FOUNDATION
TO THE PRESENT
BY JOHN STOW.
1618.

¶ The first Confession of Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* Knight, the 16. of Februarie 1600. taken before Sir *Thomas Egerton* Lord Keeper of the great Seale, the *L. Buckhurst* L. high Treasurer, the Earle of *Notingham* Lord high Admirall, and Sir *Rob. Cecill* principall Secretarie.

HE saith the Earle of *Essex* wrote a letter to him in Ianuarie, complaining his misfortune: that hee desired his company, and desired his repaire vp to him, by the second of Februarie, That he came to Towne on Saturday seuen-night before the Earles insurrection: and that the same night late he visited the Earle. Who after complements, told him, that he stood on his guard, and resolved not to hazard any more commandements, or restraints: that he desired him to rest him that night, and to repaire vnto him againe, but in such sort as it might not be noted.

That he had bene with the Earle two or three times that weeke; and on Saturday, being the seuenth of February, the Earle tolde him, that hee had bene sent for by the Lordes, and refused to come: deliuering further, that he resolved to defend himselfe from any more restraint.

He further saith, that it was in question, the same Saturday night, to haue stirred in the night, and to haue attempted the Court. But being demanded

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manded whether the Earle could haue had sufficient company to haue done any thing in the night: he answered, that all the Earles companie were readie at one houres warning, and had bene so before, in respect that he had meant long before to stand vpon his guard.

That it was resolved to haue the Court first attempted, that the Earle had three hundred Gentlemen to doe it: but that he the saide *Ferdinando Gorge* was a violent dissuader of him from that purpose; and the Earle most confident in the party of *London*, which he meant (vpon a later dispute) first to assure: and that hee was also assured of a partie in *Wales*, but meant not to vse them, vntill he had bene possessed of the Court.

That the Earle, and sir *Christopher Blunt*, vnderstanding, that sir *Walter Raleigh* had sent to speake with him in the morning, the saide sir *Christopher Blunt* perswaded him, either to surprise sir *Walter Raleigh*, or to kill him. Which when hee vterly refused, sir *Christopher Blunt* sent foure shot after him in a boat.

That at the going out of *Essex house* gate, many cried out: *To the Court, to the Court.* But my Lorde of *Essex* turned him about towards *London*.

That he meant after possession of the Court, to call a Parliament, and therein to proceed as cause should require.

At that time of the Consultation on Saturday night, my Lord was demanded what assurance he had of those hee made account to bee his friends

in

The Confessions and other Euidence.

in the Citie? Whereunto he replyed, that there was no question to be made of that: for, one amongst the rest, that was presently in one of the greatest commaunds amongst them, held himselfe to be interested in the cause, (for so hee phrased it) and was Coronell of a thousand men, which were readie at all times, besides others that hee helde himselfe as assured of, as of him, and able to make as great numbers. Some of them had at that instant (as he reported to vs) sent vnto him, taking notice of as much as he made vs to knowe of the purpose intended to haue intrapped him, and made request to know his pleasure.

Ferd. Gorges.

Exam. per *Th. Egerton C. S.*

T. Buckhurst.

Notingham.

Ro. Cecill.

M

¶ The

¶ The second confession of Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* the 18. of February 1600. All written of his owne hand. And acknowledged in the presence of Sir *Thomas Egerton* L. Keeper of the great Seale, the *L. Buckhurst* L. high Treasurer, the Earle of *Nottingham* L. high Admirall, and Sir *Ro. Cecil* principall Secretary.

ON Tuesday before the Insurrection (as I remember) I was sent vnto by my L. of *Essex*, praying me to meete my Lord of *Southampton*, Sir *Charles Dauers*, Sir *Iohn Dauies*, and other his friends at *Drury house*: where I should see a schedule of his friends names, and proiects to be disputed vpon. Whither I came accordingly, and found the foresaid Earle, Sir *Charles Dauers*, Sir *Iohn Dauies*, and one Master *Littleton*. The names were shewed, and numbred to bee sixe score: Earles, Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen. The proiects were these: Whether to attempt the Court, or the Tower, or to stirre his friends in *London* first, or whether both the Court and Tower at an instant? I disliked that counsel. My reasons were, that I alledged to them: First, to attempt both with those numbers, was not to bee thought on, because that was not sufficient: and therefore aduised them to thinke of something else. Then they would needs resolute
to

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to attempt the Court, withall desired in mine opinion. But I prayed them first to set downe the manner how it might be done. Then Sir *Iohn Davies* tooke inke and paper, and assigned to diuers principall men their seuerall places. Some to keepe the Gate, some to bee in the Hall, some to bee in the Presence, some in the Lobby, some in the Guard-chamber, others to come in with my Lord himselfe, who should haue had the passage given him to the Priue chamber, where he was to haue presented himselfe to her MAIESTIE.

Ferd. Gorges.

Knowledged in the presence of

Tho. Egerton C.S.

Tho. Buckhurst.

Notingham.

Ro. Cecill.

M. 2.

¶ The

The confession of Sir *John Davies*,
taken the 18. of Februarie 1600. before
the Earle of *Notingham* L. high Admirall,
Sir *Rob. Cecill*, principall Secretarie, and
John Herbert second Secre-
tarie of Estate.

Sir *John Davies* being demaunded, how long before my Lord of *Essex* tumult he knewe of such his purpose?

He answeres, that he knewe not directly of any meaning my Lorde had, vntill the Sunday seuen-
night before, or thereabout.

Being demaunded what he knew? then he answered, That my Lord consulted to possesse himselfe of the Court, at such conuenient time when he might finde least opposition. For executing of which enterprises and of other affaires, he appointed my Lord of *Southampton*, sir *Charles Dauers*, sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, and himselfe, to meete at Drury house, and there to consider of the same, and such other proiects, as his Lordship deliuered them. And principally, for surprising of the Court, and for the taking of the Tower of *London*. About which businesse they had two meetings: which were fve or sixe dayes before the insurrection.

He further sayth, That Sir *Christopher Blunt* was not at this consultation, but that hee stayed
and

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and aduised with my Lord himselfe about other things to him vnknown. For that my Lord trusted seuerall men in seuerall busineses, and not all together.

Being demanded what was resolved in the opinions of these foure before named? He saith, that sir *Charles Dauers* was appointed to the Presence chamber, and himselfe to the Hall. And that my Lord was to determine himselfe, who should haue guarded the Court gate, and the Water gate. And that Sir *Charles Dauers* vpon a signall or a watchword, should haue come out of the Presence into the Guard chamber. And then some out of the Hall to haue met him, and so haue stept betweene the Guard and their halberds: of which Guard they hoped to haue found but a doozen, or some such small number.

Being asked, whether he heard that such as my Lord misliked, should haue receiued any violence? He saith, that my Lord auowed the contrary: And that my Lorde said, He would call them to an honourable tryall, and not vse the sword.

Being demanded whether my Lord thought his enemies to be Spanish, *bona fide*, or no? He saith, that hee neuer heard any such speech: and, if my Lord vsed any such, it came into his head on the suddaine.

Being demaunded what party my Lord had in *London*? He saith, that the Sheriffe *Smith* was his hope, as he thinketh.

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Being demanded whether my Lord promised libertie of Catholike Religion? He sayth, that Sir *Christopher Blunt* did giue hope of it.

John Davis.

Exam. per Notingham,

Ro. Cecill.

LHerbert.

The

¶ The confefſion of Sir *Charles Da-*
uers, taken the 18. of February Anno 1600.
before Sir *Thomas Egerton* L. Keeper of the great
Seale, the *L. Buckhurſt* L. high Treafurer, the
Earle of *Nottingham* the Lord high Admirall,
Lord *Hunſdon* L. Chamberlaine, and
Sir *Robert Cecill* princi-
pal Secretarie.

HE confeſſeth that before *Christmas*, the Earle
of *Effex* had bethought himſelfe, howe hee
might ſecure his acceſſe vnto the *QUEENE* in
ſuch ſort, as hee might not bee reſiſted: but
no reſolution determinately taken, vntill the
comming vp of this Examinee, a little after
Christmas.

And then he doth confeſſe, that the reſoluti-
on was taken, to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the Court:
which reſolution was taken agreeable to certaine
articles, which the Earle of *Effex* did ſend to the
Earle of *Southampton*, this Examinee, Sir *Ferdi-*
nando Gorge, and Sir *Iohn Davies*, written with the
Earles owne hand. To which conſultation (be-
ing held at *Drurie houſe*, ſome foure or five dayes
before Sunday, that was the eighth of February)
Littleton came in towards the end.

The

The Confessions and other Euidence.

The points which the Earle of *Essex* proiected vnder his hand were these.

First, whether it were fit to take the Tower of *London*. The reason whereof was this: that after the Court was possessed, it was necessary to giue reputation to the Action, by hauing such a place, to bridle the Citie, if there should be any mislike of their possessing the Court.

To the possessing of the Court, these circumstances were considered.

First, the Earle of *Essex* should haue assembled all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of qualitie on his party: out of which number, hee should haue chosen so many as should haue possessed all the places of the Court, where there might haue beene any likelihood of resistance. Which being done, the Earle of *Essex*, with diuers Noblemen, should haue presented himselfe to the Queene.

The maner how it should haue beene executed, was in this sort. Sir *Christopher Blunt* should haue had charge of the vtter gate, as hee thinketh. Sir *Charles Dauncers* this Examine, with his company, should haue made good the Presence, and should haue seized vpon the Halberds of the Guard. Sir *Iohn Davies* should haue taken charge of the Hall. All this being set, vpon a signall giuen, the Earle should haue come into the Court with his company.

Being asked what they would haue done after?

Hee

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Hee saith , they would haue sent to haue satisfied the Citie, and haue called a Parliament.

These were the resolutions set downe by the Earle of *Essex* of his owne hand, after diuers consultations.

He saith , *Cuffe* was euer of opinion , that the Earle of *Essex* should come in this sort to the Court.

Charles Dauers.

Exam. per *Th. Egerton. C.S.*

Th. Buckhurst.


Notingham.

G. Hunsdon.

Ro. Cecill.

N

f The

 The second Confession of Sir Charles Dauers, taken the same day, and set downe vpon further calling himselfe to remembrance, vnder his owne hand, before Sir Th.

Egerton, L. Keeper of the great Seale, *L. Buckhurst* L. high Treasurer, the Earle of *Nottingham* L. high Admirall, Sir *Rob. Cecill* principall Secretarie.

SOME points of the Articles which my Lord of *Essex* sent vnto *Drury house*, (as neere as I can remember) were these: Whether both the Court, and the Tower should bee both attempted at one time? If both, what numbers should bee thought requisite for either? If the Court alone, what places should be first possessed? by what persons?

And for those, which were not to come into the Court before hand; where, and in what sort they might assemble themselues, with least suspicion to come in with my Lord?

Whether it were not fit for my Lord, and some of the principall persons, to be armed with priuie coates?

Charles Dauers.

Knowledged in the presence of
Tho. Egerton, C.S. T. Buckhurst.
Nottingham. Rob. Cecill.

The

The first Confession of Sir *Christo-
pher Blunt* examined the 18. of Februarie
1600. before *Io. Herbert* second Secretarie of
Estate, and in the presence of *Nich Kempe* Coun-
seller at Law, *William Walsmarke*, *William Mar-
tin*, *Robert Andewes*, Citizens: *Iohn
Trenar* Surueyor of the Nauy,
and *Thomas Thorney*
his Surgeon.

HE confesseth that the Earle of *Essex* sent *Wise-
man*, about the 20. of Ianuarie, to visit his
wife, with letters of complement, and to require
him to come vp vnto him to *London*; to settle his
estate according as he had written vnto him be-
fore some few dayes.

Being demaunded to what ende they went to
the Citie, to ioyne with such strength as they ho-
ped for there: he confesseth, it was to secure the
Earle of *Essex* his life, against such forces as should
be sent against him. And being asked, what, against
the *Queenes* forces? he answered, that must haue
beene iudged afterwards.

But being further asked, whether he did aduise
to come vnto the Court ouer night? He saith no.
For, Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* did assure, that the *Ma-
rum* was taken of it at the Court, and the Guards
doubled.

Being asked whether hee thought any Prince
could haue endured, to haue any Subiect make the
Citie his Mediator? or, to gather force to speake

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for him? He saith, he is not read in stories of former times: but he doth not know, but that in former times Subiectes haue vsed force for their mediation.

Being asked, what should haue bene done by any of the persons, that should haue bene removed from the Queene? He answered, that he neuer found my Lord disposed to shed blood: but that any that should haue bene found, should haue had indifferent triall.

Being asked vpon his conscience, whether the Earle of *Essex* did not giue him comfort, that if he came to authoritie, there should bee a toleration for Religion? He confesseth, he should haue bene to blame to haue denied it.

Chr. Blunt.

This was read vnto Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and afterwards signed by him in the presence of vs, who are vnder written:

To. Herbert. Nicho. Kemp.

W. Waimarke. W. W.

Martin. Robert Andrewes.

John Treuor. Tb. Thorney.

The

¶ The second Confession of Sir Christopher Blunt the same day, viz. the 18. of February : taken before M. John Herbert second Secretarie of Estate, and subscribed by him in the presence of *Nicholas Kemp* Counsellor at Law, *Thomas Thorne* his Surgeon, and *William Martin*, *Robert Andrewes*, and *Randolph Bull*, Citizens.

Sir Christopher Blunt (after the signing of this confession) being told, that he did not deale plainly, excused himselfe by his former weakenesse; (putting vs in minde that hee said once before, that when he was able to speake, he would tel all truth) doth now confesse: That foure or fiue dayes before the Earle of *Essex* did rise, hee did set downe certaine Articles to bee considered on, which hee sawe not, vntil afterward he was made acquainted with them, when they had amongst themselues disputed: which were these.

This weaknes was in respect of his hurt receiued in charging her Maiesties forces at *Ludgate*.

One of them was; *Whether the Tower of London should be taken.*

Another, *Whether they should not possesse the Court, and so secure my Lord, and other men to come to the Queene.*

For the first concerning the Tower, he did not

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like it: concluding, that he that had the power of the Queene, should haue that.

He confesseth that vpon Saturday night, when M. Secretary *Herbert* had bene with the Earle, and that hee saw some suspicion was taken: hee thought it in vaine to attempt the Court, and perswaded him rather to saue himselfe by flight, then to ingage himselfe further, and all his company. And so the resolution of the Earle grewe to go into the Citie, in hope (as he saide before) to finde many friends there.

Hee doeth also say, that the Earle did vsually speake of his purpose to alter the gouernement.

Chr. Blunt.


Exam per. Io. Herbert.

Subscribed in presence of
*Nico. Kempe, Tho. Thorney,
Rob. Andrewes, W. Martin,
Randolph Bull.*

7 The



¶ The Declaration of the
Lord Keeper, the Earle of Wor-
cester, and the L. Chiefe Iustice
of England.

 Pon Sunday, being the eight
of February last past, about
ten of the clocke in the fore-
noone, the Lord Keeper of
the great Seale, the Earle of
Worcester, Sir *William Knollis* Comptrol-
ler of her Maiesties Householde, and the
Lord Chiefe Iustice of *England*, being
commaunded by direction from the
Q U E E N E S M A I E S T I E, did
repaire to the late earle of *Essex* his house,
and finding the gate shut against them,
after a little stay they were let in at the
wicket.

wicket. And assoone as they were within the gate, the wicket was shutte vpon them, and all their seruants kept out.

At their comming thither, they found the court full of men assembled together in verie tumultuous sort: The Earles of *Effex*, *Rutland*, and *Southampton*, and the Lord *Sandys*, Master *Parker*, commonly called Lord *Mountegle*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Charles Dauers*, and manie other Knights and Gentlemen, and other persons vnknownen, which flocked together about the Lorde Keeper, &c. And thereupon the Lorde Keeper tolde the Earle of *Effex*, that they were sent from her MAIESTIE, to vnderstand the cause of this their assembly, and to let them know, That if they had any particular cause of grieffe against any persons whatsoever, it should be heard, and they should haue iustice.

Hereupon the Earle of *Effex* with a very lowd voice declared, That his life vvas sought, and that hee should haue beene murthered in his bed; that he had
beene

beene perfidiously dealt vvith; that his hand had beene counterfai'ted, and Letters vvritten in his name; and that therefore they vvere assembled there together to defend their liues: with much other speech to like effect. Hereupon the Lord Chiefe Iustice sayd vnto the Earle, That if they had any such matter of grieffe, or if any such matter vvere attempted or purposed against him, he vvilled the Earle to declare it, assuring him that it should be truly related to her MAIESTIE, and that it should be indifferently heard, and iustice should be done, vvhomsoever it concerned.

To this the Earle of *Southampton* objected the assault made vpon him by the Lord *Gray*. Whereunto the Lord Chiefe Iustice sayd, That in his case, iustice had beene done, and the partie imprisoned for it. And hereupon the Lord Keeper did estsoones vvill the Earle of *Essex*, that vvhatsoever priuate matter or offence hee had against any person vvhatsoever, if hee vvould deliuer it vnto them, they

O

vvould

would faithfully and honestly deliuer it to the **Q V E E N E S M A I E S T Y**, and doubted not to procure him honourable and equall iustice, whomsoever it concerned: requiring him, that if hee would not declare it openly, that hee would impart it vnto them priuatelie, and doubted not but they would satisfie him in it.

Vpon this there was a great clamour raised amongst the multitude, crying, *Away my Lorde, They abuse you, They betray you, They undoe you, You lose time*. Whereupon the Lord Keeper put on his Hat, & said with a loud voice, My Lord, let vs speake with you priuately, and vnderstand your griefes: And I command you all vpon your allegiance, to lay downe your vveapons, and to depart, vvhich you ought all to doe, being thus commanded, if you be good Subiects; and owe that duetie to the **Q V E E N E S M A I E S T Y** which you professe. Whereupon they all brake
out

out into an exceeding loud shout and cry, crying, *All, all, all.*

And whilest the Lord Keeper was speaking, and commanding them vpon their allegiance, as is before declared, the Earle of *Essex* and the most part of that Company did put on their hats, and so the Earle of *Essex* went into the house, and the Lord Keeper, &c. followed him, thinking that his purpose had beene to speake with them priuately, as they had required. And as they were going, some of that disordered Companie cried, *Kill them.* And as they were going into the great Chamber, some cried, *Cast the great Seale out of the window.* Some other cried there, *Kill them*: and some other sayd, *Nay, let vs shop them vp.*

The Lorde Keeper did often call to the Earle of *Essex* to speake with them priuately, thinking still that his meaning had beene so, vntill the Earle brought them into his backe Chamber, and there

gaue order to haue the further doore of that Chamber shut fast. And at his going foorth out of that Chamber, the Lorde Keeper preſſing againe to haue ſpoken with the Earle of Eſſex, the Earle ſayd, *My Lords, be patient a while, and ſtay heere, and I will goe into London, and take order with the Maior and Shiriffes for the Citie, and will be heere againe within this halfe houre.* And ſo departed from the Lord Keeper, &c. leauing the Lord Keeper, &c. and diuers of the Gentlemen Penſioners in that Chamber, guarded by Sir Iohn Davis, Francis Treſham, and Owen Salisburie, with muſquet ſhot, where they continued vntill Sir Ferdinando Gorges came and deliuered them about foure of the clocke in the afternoone.

In the meane time wee did often require Sir Iohn Davis, and Francis Treſham, to ſuffer vs to depart, or at the leaſt, to ſuffer ſome one of vs to go to the **QUEENES**
MAIESTY,

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MAJESTY, to informe her vvhere and in what sort we were kept. But they answered, *That my Lord (meaning the Earle of Essex) had commanded that we should not depart before his retorne, which (they said) would be very shortly.*

Thomas Egerton C.S.

Edward Worcester.

John Popham.

O 3

¶ The

¶ The examination of *Roger Earle*
of *Rutland*, the 12. of February 1600.

taken before Sir *Thomas Egerton* L. Keeper
of the great Scale, the L. *Buckhurst* L. high
Treasurer, the Earle of *Notingham* L.
high Admirall, Sir *Robert Cecill*
Principall Secretary, and Sir
Io. Popham L. chiefe Iu-
stice of England.

HE saith, that at his comming to *Essex house* on
Sunday morning last, he found there with the
Earle of *Essex*, the Lord *Sandys*, and the L. *Chandos*,
and diuers Knights and gentlemen. And the Earle
of *Essex* tolde this Examinee, That his life was
practised to bee taken away by the Lord *Cobham*,
and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, when he was sent for to the
Counsell. And the Earle said, That now he meant
by the helpe of his friends, to defend himselfe. And
saith, that the deteining of the Lord *Keeper* and the
other Lords sent to the Earle from the Queene,
was a stratageme of warre. And saith, That the
Earle of *Essex* told him, that *London* stood for him,
and that Sherife *Smith* had giuen him intelligence,
that hee would make as many men to assist him as
he could. And further the Earle of *Essex* said, That
he meant to possesse himselfe of the Citie, the bet-
ter to enable himselfe to reuenge him on his ene-
mies,

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mies, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Robert Cecil*, and sir *Walter Raleigh*. And this Examine confesseth, that he resolved to liue and die with the Earle of *Essex*: and that the Earle of *Essex* did intend to make his forces so strong, that her Maiestie should not be able to resist him in the reuenge of his enemies. And saith, that the Earle of *Essex* was most inward with the Earle of *Southampton*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and others: who haue of long time shewed themselves discontented, and haue aduised the Earle of *Essex* to take other courses, and to stand vpon his guard. And saith, that when the Earle of *Essex* was talking with the *L. Keeper*, and other the Lords sent from her Maiestie, diuers sayd, My Lord, they meane to abuse you, & you loose time. And when the Earle came to Sherife *Smiths*, hee desired him to send for the Lord *Maioir*, that hee might speake with him. And as the Earle went in the streetes of *London*, this Examine sayd to diuers of the Citizens, that if they would needes come, that it was better for their safetie to come with weapons in their hands. And saith, that the Earle of *Essex* (at the end of the streete where Sherife *Smith* dwelt) cried out to the Citizens, That they did him harme, for that they came naked: and willed them to get them weapons. And the Earle of *Essex* also cried out to the Citizens, That the Crowne of *England* was offred to be solde to the *Infanta*. And saith, that the Earle burned diuers papers, that were in a little Casket, whereof one was, as the Earle sayd, An historie of
his

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his troubles. And sayth, that when they were assaulted in *Effex house*, after their returne, they first resolved to haue made a fallie out. And the Earle sayd, that he was determined to die: and yet in the end they changed their opinion, and yeelded. And sayth, that the Earle of *Southampton*, sir *Christopher Blunt*, and sir *Iohn Davies* aduised the Earle of *Effex*, that the Lord Keeper and his company should be deteined. And this Examinee sayth, that he heard diuers there present cry out, Kill them, kill them. And sayth, that he thinketh the Earle of *Effex* intended, that after he had possessed himselfe of the Citie, hee would intreat the Lord Keeper and his company, to accompany him to the Court. Hee sayth, hee heard Sir *Christopher Blunt* say openly in the presence of the Earle of *Effex* and others, how fearefull, and in what seuerall humors they should finde them at the Court, when they came thither.

Rutland.

Exam. per *Th. Egerton C. S.*

T. Buckhurst.

Notingham.

Ro. Cecill.

Io. Popham.

¶ The Confession of *William Lord Sandys*, of the parish of *Sherborne Cowdry*, in the Countie of *Southampton*, taken this 16. of February 1600. before Sir *John Popham* L. chiefe Iustice, *Roger Wilbraham* Master of the Requests, and *Edw. Coke* her Maiesties Atturney Generall.

HE saith, that hee neuer vnderstood, that the Earle did meane to stand vpon his strength, till Sunday in the morning, being the eight of this instant Februarie. And saith, that in the morning of that day, this Examinat was sent for by the Earle of *Effex*, about sixe or seuen of the clocke: and the Earle sent for him by his seruant *Warberton*, who was married to a widowe in *Hampshire*. And at his comming to the Earle, there were sixe or seuen Gentlemen with him: but remembreth not what they were: and next after, of a Noble man, came my Lord *Chandos*, and after him came the Earle of *Southampton*, and presently after, the Earle of *Rutland*, and after him Master *Parker*, commonly called the Lord *Mountegle*. And sayeth, that at his comming to the Earle of *Effex*, he complained That it was practised by Sir *Walter Raleigh* to haue murdered him, as hee should haue

P

gone

The Confessions and other Euidence.

gone to the Lord Treasurers house, with Master Secretary *Herbert*. And saith, that he was present in the Court-yard of *Essex house*, when the Lord Keeper, the Earle of *Worcester*, Sir *William Knollis*, and the Lorde Chiefe Iustice, came from the QUEENES MAIESTIE to the Earle of *Essex*. And the Lord Chiefe Iustice required the Earle of *Essex* to haue some priuate conference with him: and that, if any priuate wrongs were offered vnto him, that they would make true report thereof to her MAIESTIE, who no doubt would reforme the same. And sayeth, that this Examinat went with the Earle, and the rest of his company to *London* to Sherife *Smithes*: but went not into the house with him, but stayed in the streete a while, and being sent for by the Earle of *Essex*, went into the house, and from thence came with him, till hee came to *Ludgate*: which place being guarded, and resistance being made, and perceiued by the Earle of *Essex*, he said vnto his company, *Charge*: And thereupon sir *Christopher Blunt*, and others of his company, gaue the Charge, and being repulsed, and this Examinat hurt in the legge, the Earle retired with this Examinat and others, to his house, called *Essex house*. And on his retire, the Earle said to this Examinat, *That if Sherife Smith did not his part, that his part was as farre forth as the Earles owne*, which mooued him to thinke, that he trusted to the Citie. And when the Earle was after his retire in *Essex house*, he tooke anyron.

Casket,

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Casket, and broke it open, and burnt diuerse papers in it. Whereof there was a booke, as he taketh it: and said as he was burning of them, *That they should tell no tales to hurt his friends.* And saith, that the Earle saide, *That he had a blacke bagge about his necke, that should tell no tales.*

William Sandys.

Exam. per Ioh. Popham.

Roger Wilbraham.

Edw. Coke.

P 2

¶ The

¶ The Examination of the Lord
Cromwell, taken the 7. of March 1600.

by Sir *I. Popham* L. chiefe Iustice, *Christ.*

Yeluerton her Maiesties Sergeant,

and *Fr. Bacon* of her Maiesties

learned Councell.

This Examination as appeareth by the date, was taken after *Essex* arraignment, but is inserted, to shew how the speech of the Realme to be folde to the *Infanta*, which at his arraignment he deriued frō M. Secretary, at *Shr. Smiths* house he said was aduertised out of *Ireland*. And with this latter con- curre many other examinations.

AT the Sherifs house this Examinee pressed in with the rest, and found the Earls shifting themselves in an inner chamber: where he heard my L. of *Essex* certifie the Company, that he had bene aduertised out of *Ireland* (which hee would not nowe hide from them) that the Realme should be deliuered ouer to the handes of the *Infanta* of *Spaine*, and that he was wished to looke to it. Further, that he was to seeke redresse for iniuries: and that he had left at his house for pledges, the Lord Keeper, the Earle of *Worcester*, Sir *William Knollis*, and the Lord chiefe Iustice.

Edw. Cromwell.

Exam. per *Io Popham.*

Chr. Yeluerton.

Fr. Bacon.

¶ Sir

¶ *Sir Christopher Blunt*, knight, at the time of his arraignment, did openly at the Barre desire to speake with the L. Admiral, and M. Secretary: before whom he made this Confession following: *Which the Earle of Southampton confirmed afterwards: and he himselfe likewise at his death.*

HE confesseth, that at the Castle of *Dublin*, in that lodging, which was once the Earle of *Southampton*, the Earle of *Essex* purposing his returne into *England*, aduised with the Earle of *Southampton*, and himselfe, of his best maner of going into *England* for his securitie, seeing to goe hee was resolu'd.

At that time he propounded his going with a competent number of souldiers, to the number of two or three thousand, to haue made good his first landing with that Force, vntill hee coulde haue drawen vnto himselfe a sufficient strength to haue proceeded further.

From this purpose, this Examinee did vse all forcible perswasions: alledging not only his owne ruine, which should follow thereof, and all those which should adhere to him in that action: but vrging it to him, as a matter most foule, because hee was not onely helde a Patron of his Countrey,

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which by this meanes hee should haue destroyed: but also, should haue layed vpon himselfe an irrevocable blot, hauing bene so deeply bound to her MAIESTIE. To which dissuasion, the Earle of Southampton also inclined.

This desseigne being thus dissuaded by them, then they fell to a second consideration. And therein this Examine confesseth, that hee rather aduised him, if needes hee would goe, to take with him some competent number of choise men.

He did not name vnto him any particular power, that would haue come to him at his landing, but assured himselfe that his Armie would haue bene quickly increased by all sorts of discontented people.

He did confesse before his going, that hee was assured that many of the Rebels would be aduised by him: but named none in particular.

¶ The

¶ The Examination of the Earle of
Southampton after his Arraignement :
taken before the Earle of *Notingham* Lord
high Admirall, Sir *Robert Cecill* prin-
cipall Secretarie, and M.*John*
Herbert second Secre-
tary of Estate.

Sir *Christopher Blunt* being hurt, and lying in the
Castle of *Dublin*, in a chamber which had bene
mine, the Earle of *Essex* one day tooke me thither
with him: where being none but we three, he told
vs, he found it necessarie for him to goe into *Eng-
land*, and thought it fit to carie with him as much
of the Armie, as he could conueniently transport,
to goe on shore with him to *Wales*, and there to
make good his landing with those, till hee could
send for more. Not doubting but his Army would
so increase in a small time, that hee should bee able
to march to *London*, and make his conditions, as he
desired.

To which proiect I answered, that I held it alto-
gether vnfit, aswell in respect of his conscience to
God, and his loue to his countrey, as his duerie to
his Soueraigne, of which, he (of all men) ought to
haue greatest regard, seeing her Maiesties fauours
to

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to him had bene so extraordinarie. Wherefore, I
could neuer giue any consent vnto it. Sir *Christo-*
pher Blunt ioyned with me in this opinion.

Exam. per *Notingham,*

Ro. Cecil,

Io. Herbert.

¶ The



¶ The speeches of Sir *Chr. Blunt*, at
the time of his death, as neere
as they could be remembred.

March 18. 1600.

MY Lords, and you that be present, Although
I must confesse, that it were better fitting the
little time I haue to breath, to bestow the same in
asking God forgiuenes for my manifold and abo-
minable sinnes, then to vse any other discourse, e-
specially, hauing both an imperfection of speech,
and God knowes, a weake memorie, by reason of
my late grievous wound: Yet to satisfie all those
that are present, what course hath bene held by me,
in this late enterprise, because I was sayd to be an
Instigator, and setter on of the late Earle, I will
truely, and vpon the perill of my soule, speake the
trueth.

It is true, that the first time that euer I vnder-
stoode of any dangerous discontentment in my L.
of *Essex*, was about three yeeres agoe, at *Wansted*,
vpon his comming one day from *Greenwich*. At
that time he spake many things vnto mee, but de-
scended into no particulars, but in generall termes.

After which time, he neuer brake with me in a-
ny matter, tending to the alteration of the State, (I
protest before God) vntill he came into *Ireland*, o-
ther then I might conceiue, that he was of an am-
bitious and discontented mind. But, when I lay at
the Castle of *Thomas Lee*, called *Reban*, in *Ireland*;

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grieuously hurt, and doubted of my life: he came to visit mee, and then began to acquaint me with his intent.

As he thus spake, the Sheriffe began to interrupt him, and told him the houre was past. But my Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* Captaine of the Guard, called to the Sheriffe, and required him not to interrupt him, but to suffer him quietly to finish his prayers and confessions. Sir *Christopher Blunt* said, Is Sir *Walter Raleigh* there? Those on the scaffold answered, Yea. To whom Sir *Christopher Blunt* spake on this maner.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, I thanke God that you are present: I had an infinite desire to speake with you, to aske you forgiuenes ere I died, both for the wrōg done you, and for my particular ill intent towards you: I beseech you forgiue me. Sir *Walter Raleigh* answered, that he most willingly forgauē him, and besought God to forgiue him, and to giue him his diuine comfort: protesting before the Lord, that whatsoeuer Sir *Christopher Blunt* meant towards him, for his part, he neuer had any ill intent towards him: And further saide to Sir *Christopher Blunt*, I pray you without offence, let me put you in minde that you haue bene esteemed, not only a principall prouoker and perswader of the Earle of *Essex* in all his vndutifull courses, but especially an aduiser in that which hath bene confessed of his purpose to transport a great part of her Maiesties Armie out of *Ireland* into *England*; to land at *Milford*, and thence to turne it against her sacred person. You
shal

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shal doe wel to tell the trueth, & to satisfie the world.
To which he answered thus.
Sir, if you will giue me patience, I will deliuer a
trueth, speaking now my last, in the presence of
God, in whose mercie I trust. And then hee directed
himselfe to my Lord *Gray*, and my Lord *Compton*,
and the rest that sate on horsebacke neere the
scaffold.

When I was brought from *Reban* to *Dublin*, and
lodged in the Castle, his Lordship and the Earle of
Southampton came to visit me; and to be short, hee
began thus plainly with me: *That he intended to*
transport a choice part of the Armie of Ireland into
England, and land them in Wales, at Milford, or
thereabouts: and so securing his descent, thereby would
gather such other forces, as might enable him to march
to London. To which, I protest before the Lord
God, I made this, or the like answer: that I would
that night consider of it, which I did.

And the next day the Earls came againe: I told
them, that such an enterprize, as it was most dangerous,
so would it cost much blood, as I could not
like of it: besides many hazzards, which at this time
I cannot remember vnto you, neither will the time
permit it. But I rather aduised him to goe ouer
himselfe with a good traine, and make sure of the
Court, and then make his owne conditions.

And although it be true, that (as we all protested
in our examinations and arraignements) we neuer
resolved of doing hurt to her Maiesties person: (for
in none of our consultations was there set downe

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any such purpose) yet, *I know, and must confesse, if we had failed of our ends, we should (rather then haue bene disapointed) euen haue drawne blood from her selfe.* Fro henceforward, he dealt no more with mee herein, vntill he was discharged of his keeper, at *Essex house*. And then, he againe asked mine aduise, and disputed the matter with me; but resolued not. I went then into the Countrey, and before he sent for me (which was some tenne daies before his Rebellion) I neuer heard more of the matter. And then hee wrote vnto mee, to come vp, vpon pretence of making some assurances of land; and the like. I will leaue the rest vnto my confessions, giuen to that honourable Lord Admirall, and worthy M. Secretary, (to whom I beseech you sir *Walter Raleigh* commend me) I can requite their fauourable & charitable dealing with me, with nought els but my prayers for them. And I beseech God of his mercy, to saue and preserue the Queene, who hath giuen comfort to my soule, in that I heare shee hath forgiven mee all, but the sentence of the Lawe, which I most worthily deserued, and do most willingly embrace, and hope that **G O D** will haue mercy and compassion on me, who haue offended him as many wayes, as euer sinfull wretch did. I haue lead a life so farre from his precepts, as no sinner more. God forgiue it mee, and forgiue mee my wicked thoughts, my licentious life, and this right arme of mine, which (I feare me) hath drawen blood in this last Action. And I beseech you all beare witnesse, that I die a Catholike, yet so, as I hope to be saued
onely

onely by the death and passion of *Christ*, and by his merits, not ascribing any thing to mine owne works. And I trust you are all good people, and your prayers may profit me. Farewell my worthy Lord *Gray*, and my Lord *Compton*, and to you all, God send you both to liue long in honour. I will desire to say a few prayers, and imbrace my death most willingly. With that hee turned from the rayle, towards the Executioner: and the Minister offering to speake with him, he came againe to the raile, and besought that his conscience might not be troubled, for he was resolved; which he desired for Gods sake. Whereupon commandement was giuen, that the Minister should not interrupt him any further. After which he prepared himselfe to the blocke, and so died very manfully and resolutely.

¶ An abstract out of the Earle of
Essex Confession vnder his
owne hande.

Vpon Saturday the 21. of February, after the late Earle of *Essex* had desired vs to come to him, as well to deliuer his knowledge of those treasons, which he had formerly denied at the Barre, as also to recommend his humble and earnest request, that her Maiesty would bee pleased (out of her grace and fauour) to suffer him to die privately in the Towre: He did marueilous earnestly de-

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fire, that we would suffer him to speake vnto *Cuffe* his Secretary: Against whom hee vehementlie complained vnto vs, to haue bene a principall Instigator to these violent courses, which he had vnderaken. Wherein he protested, that he chieflie desired that he might make it appeare, that he was not the onely perswader of these great offences, which they had committed: but that *Blunt*, *Cuffe*, *Temple*, besides those other persons, who were at the priuate conspiracy at *Drury house* (to which though these three were not called, yet they were priuy) had most malicious and bloody purposes, to subuert the State and Gouvernment: Which could not haue bene prevented, if his proicct had gone forward.

This request being granted him, and *Cuffe* brought before him, hee there directly and vehemently charged him. And amongst other speeches vsed these words: *Henry Cuffe, call to God for mercy, and to the Queene, and deserue it, by declaring trueth. For I, that must now prepare for another world, haue resolved to deale clearely with God, and the world: and must needs say this to you; You haue bene one of the chiefeest instigators of me, to all these my disloyall courses, into which I haue fallen.*

Testified by *Tho. Egerton. C. S.*

Th. Buckhurst. Nottingham.

Ro. Cecil.

The

The Earle of *Essex* his Confession
to three Ministers, whose names are
vnder written, the 25. of Fe-
bruarie 1600.

THe late Earle of *Essex* thanked God most heartily, That he had giuen him a deeper insight into his offence, being sory he had so stood vpon his iustification at his arraignment, for he was since that become an other man.

He thanked God that his course was so preuented: for if his proiect had taken effect, God knowes (sayd hee) what harme it had wrought in the Realme.

He humbly thanked her Maiesty, that he should die in so priuate manner, lest the acclamation of the people might haue beene a temptation vnto him. To which he added, That all popularitie and trust in man was vaine: the experience wherof himselfe had felt.

He acknowledged with thankfulnessse to God, That he was thus iustly spewed out of the Realme.

He publikely in his prayer and protestation, as also priuately, aggrauated the detestation of his offence: and especially in the hearing of them that were present at the execution, hee exaggerated it with foure Epichetes, desiring God to forgiue him his great, his *bloodie*, his *crying*, and his *infectious* sinne:

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sinne: which word *Infectious*, he priuately had explained to vs, that it was a leprosie that had infected farre and neere.

Thomas Montford.

William Barlow.

Abdie Ashton his Chaplaine.











